

106099

JPRS-NEA-88-011
26 FEBRUARY 1988



**FOREIGN
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JPRS Report

Near East & South Asia

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
NATIONAL TECHNICAL
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SPRINGFIELD, VA 22161

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Near East & South Asia

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CONTENTS

26 FEBRUARY 1988

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

Yerevan Armenians Demonstrate Against Radioactive Pollution	1
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NEAR EAST

EGYPT

Argentine Cooperation on Missile Production Reported	2
Awqaf Minister Discusses Religiosity vs Fanaticism	2
Interior Minister Discusses Disagreement With Opposition	3
Report of Cabinet Changes Predicted	7
Government Decides Not To Implement Housing Law	8
Commentary Deplores Israeli Attitudes Toward Arabs	8
Editors Deplore High-Level Embezzlement, Theft	9
State Officials Involved	9
Workers' Money Embezzled	9
State Audits Called For	10

LEBANON

Fadlallah Urges Undisguised Imperative for Islamic State	11
--	----

LIBYA

Maltese-Libyan Relations Improve	14
--	----

MOROCCO

Security, Military Appointments	14
---------------------------------------	----

SAUDI ARABIA

Russian Author Traces Opposition in Saudi Arabia	14
--	----

SUDAN

Interior Minister Discusses Domestic, Foreign Policies	18
General Interviewed on Kurmuk Battle	20
Security Report Targets Islamic Front	21

SYRIA

Israeli Analysis Assesses Military Policy, Weaknesses	22
Nation's Various Oil, Gas Programs Outlined	25

TUNISIA

Investment Growth Registers 12.6 Percent Increase	26
---	----

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

Economist Discusses Aspects of Dubai's Development	26
--	----

SOUTH ASIA

AFGHANISTAN

Yunis Khalis Discusses Alliances, Problems	28
Sediqulliah on Najibullah, Rivalries, Prospect for Solution	29
Mujahidin Leader Discusses Defection of President's Brother	30

INDIA

Gandhi, Singh on Cooperation With U.S.	30
Paper Reports Gandhi 28 Nov Press Conference	31
Report on Gandhi 17 Nov Defense College Speech	32
RSS Chief Comments on Government, Politics	33
Remarks at Jaipur Rally	33
Political Role Contemplated	33
Political Intentions Denied	34
Former Kerala Minister Launches New Party	34
'Secret Letter' Said To Show Congress-I, TNV Collusion	34
Burma Expels 20 'Indian Detainees', Burmese Nationals	35
Law Provides for Hindi Text of Constitution	35
Submarines Being Built at Mazagon Docks in Bombay	36
Delhi Drafts Bill To Outlaw Communal Parties	36

IRAN

Exemplary Farmers and Stock-Breeders Air their Problems	37
---	----

PAKISTAN

JI Chief Assails Government As Corrupt, Incompetent	39
Punjab PPP Said in Disarray	39
Arms Exports Increasing	40
Commentary Condemns Attack on Newspaper	41
Joint Chamber of Commerce Proposed With Turkey, Iran	41
Political Imprisonment Termed 'Rank Injustice'	42
Students Protests 'Elimination' of Sindhi Language	42
Commentary Asserts Authoritarian Rule Deeply Rooted	43
Commentary Alleges Corruption Increasing	44
Editorial Alleges Public Apathetic Toward MRD	45

Yerevan Armenians Demonstrate Against Radioactive Pollution

46050001 Paris HARATCH in Armenian 20 Oct 87 p 1

[Text] Violent demonstrations against air pollution took place in Yerevan on Saturday and Sunday, demanding the closure of the chemical factory and the nuclear plant.

On Saturday, more than 3,000 people had taken to the streets. The police tried to stop them but did not intervene and dispersed a thousand demonstrators who had assembled later on.

A memorandum was sent to the Supreme Soviet in Moscow where it is argued that the closure of the chemical factory and the nuclear plant is vital. The memorandum affirms that the pollution is bound to "result in the biological genocide of the Armenian people."

According to the opinion of chemists and biologists at the Academy of Science, Armenia has the highest rate of cancer in the Soviet Union and the atmospheric pollution is 10 times the acceptable level.

Members of the Armenian Government have on several occasions demanded, through the television and in public, the closure of the centers in question. It is said that a Soviet health minister has asked an Armenian delegation "how have you tolerated such a situation for 40 years?"

The demonstrations carried big posters declaring "Save Armenia from Chemical and Radioactive Genocide." They also requested that criminal proceedings be initiated against the Soviet Minister of Chemical Industry Yuri Pesbalov and that the projected building of chemical plants be scrapped. The Saturday demonstration lasted 3 hours.

It was the France Inter radio station that first reported these demonstrations. On Monday morning, the FIGARO gave the news with a good deal of detail but it

was only the QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS and INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE that made allusions to the Sunday demonstrations and the intervention by the police. LE MATIN and LE PARISIEN also echoed the news, etc.

THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD had a strange addition, based on information from Yerevan, to the effect that the Sunday demonstration was also in support of the national rights of the Armenians in the Azerbaijani village of Chardakhlou.

This is not a new issue and our readers are well aware of it since, starting with the revelations of Zori Palayan, our journal has regularly reprinted those articles in the Armenian press that referred to this painful and very disturbing matter.

On 11 September, the French weekly LE POINT, in its international edition, devoted an article to this matter, together with a photograph (we could not report this news at that time since the article had not appeared in the local edition).

The article describes in detail the serious nature of the situation and the most disastrous example is that of Armenia, unfortunately. It is said that about 10 accidents have occurred in the past 5 years in the nuclear plant Hogdemperian (27 klms from Yerevan). In May, new radiation [leaks] occurred and the radioactivity reached from 250 to 750 microroentgens per hour, while the tolerance level is from 10 to 20. A permanent smog darkens the streets of Yerevan 165 days a year. Of the seven most polluted cities in the Soviet Union, five are located in Armenia—Yerevan, Alaverti, Girovagan, Kacharan and Ghapan. What is most alarming is the frequency of epidemics and the number of mentally retarded children. In the last 15 years, the abnormal births and still births have reached high proportions. Recently, visitors to Armenia spoke with distress of the grave and disturbing situation. We hope that a cure will be discovered very soon.

12364/08309

EGYPT

Argentine Cooperation on Missile Production Reported

45040048b London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic
25 Dec 87 p 11

[Text] European news reports have indicated the existence of Egyptian-Argentine cooperation to develop long-range missile systems, and that this cooperation was behind the uneasiness the seven industrialized countries have expressed about Third World countries obtaining secrets of the technology related to missile development. On this basis, an agreement to monitor missile technology was reached between America, Britain, France, Germany, Canada, Japan, and Italy. These missiles were defined as those capable of carrying more than 500 kg and of flying more than 300 km and thus capable of carrying nuclear warheads.

The same sources said that Egypt and Argentina, and perhaps also Iraq, had entered into joint cooperation to produce missiles that might overturn the balance of strategic forces in the Middle East, missiles whose range was over 800 km.

These sources added that this cooperation began 5 years ago. They pointed to an acknowledgment by the Defense Ministry in Buenos Aires that it was cooperating with Egypt to develop medium-range missiles and to Argentina's decision to launch artificial satellites. These sources emphasized Egypt's desire to possess such missiles after Israel's launching of the Jericho-2 missile, whose range is over 1,000 km. European observers also believe that Egypt is developing a long-range ground-to-ground (SKUD-B) missile with North Korea.

The European industrial countries are now trying to bring together Third World missile-producing countries, such as India, Brazil, Argentina, Egypt, and Israel, in an agreement to control missile technology whose secrets, if possessed by small countries, will increase the power to penetrate deeply into the defenses of other countries.

12937

Awqaf Minister Discusses Religiosity vs Fanaticism

45040038b Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic
23 Dec 87 p 14

[Interview with Awqaf Minister Dr Muhammad 'Ali Mahjub, by Hasan 'Alam; date and place not specified]

[Excerpts] What is the difference between religiosity and extremism? What forms is this extremism taking among religious groups—according to the Awqaf minister's impressions during his meetings with them in Asyut, at the head of a high-level religious delegation? What about the more dangerous types of extremism?

Since Islam has a clear-cut stand on extremism, does that mean that there can be no fanaticism in independent judgement [ijtihad]? Exactly what roles should the imams and preachers play with respect to the extremist ideas which have recently appeared on the religious scene? Does the Awqaf Ministry have preachers qualified for this task?

In this interview, Awqaf Minister Dr Muhammad 'Ali Mahjub continues his discussion of religious issues and extremism. At the end of his interview, he points out that Egypt is one of the stablest, calmest and least violent countries in the Islamic world.

[Question] What is the difference between religiosity and extremism? What forms is this extremism taking, according to the impressions you received from the Islamic groups you met with in Asyut?

[Answer] As I told the members of the Islamic groups in Asyut, religiosity is something which is required and which we encourage. The state encourages people to be religious; in fact, Egypt spends millions of Egyptian pounds on the Islamic Call, on spreading religious feelings, and on disseminating religious ideas. The Egyptian people are not extremists.

Religiosity is moderation. Extremism is excess and harshness. Religious people are not extremists, because they are moderate in their behavior. They don't kill, they don't terrorize, they don't destroy things, they don't frighten people. Religiosity is peace and security. It inclines towards moderate things, because Islam is a middle-of-the-road religion. By that I mean that it is a moderate religion. Extremism is totally opposed to that, since it implies reaching the absolute extreme of zealotry. The Islamic religion is not zealous; it is an easy religion. It is never harsh towards anyone except to conquer him.

As I myself felt during my meetings with them, what is emerging among some of our young people today cannot in my opinion be called extremism; rather, it is religious relentlessness and excess. Take, for example, Islam's stand on independent judgment.

There is no dispute over its principles, since they are settled. As for subsidiary matters of independent judgement pertaining to minor matters, this independent judgment is exercised within the general guidelines of lenience, lifting restrictions, and making things easy. Even in the case of religious rites this judgement is based on making things easy and lifting restrictions—meaning that it is based on leniency and on a consideration of the people's circumstances. If I adopt a strict opinion, I might have won an opinion in one case, but as a believer, my religion teaches me to take a moderate, lenient opinion, not to be inexorable.

No Fanaticism In Independent Judgment

[Question] Since this is Islam's stand on extremism, does that mean that it does not allow fanaticism in independent judgement, and that the door to independent judgement is closed?

[Answer] On the contrary, there is no fanaticism in independent judgement. Our proof is that the companions of the Prophet and the early practitioners of independent judgement, whenever they made a decision and expressed their ideas, would present their opinions on the ruling and say, "My opinion is that this is correct, but it might be wrong. Someone else might think it is wrong but it might be correct."

Such a man is not fanatic in his opinions; he makes an independent judgement as best he can. He does not say that he has reached the final answer, nor does he say that he is the only one who knows. Rather, he examines the issue and makes his judgement in the context of general guidelines, and then, after he is finished with a case and issues his judgement, he announces the ruling in public, saying, "We have reached this opinion. It is the best we have arrived at, and is no more complete than what someone else might arrive at. There is always someone who knows more than we."

There is no fanaticism in independent judgement; indeed, those who are fanatic are the ignorant ones, the ones who know nothing of Islam's tolerance and sublimity, or of the conditions for independent judgement.

Return To the Friday Mosque

[Question] Exactly what role do the imams and preachers play in counteracting the extremist ideas which have appeared on the religious scene recently? Does the Awqaf Ministry have preachers qualified for this task?

[Answer] What we are doing right now is the best reply to this question. We have prepared caravans of preachers who tour all of Egypt's governorates on a regular basis. So that preachers can speak in today's language, we have set up intensive training courses for imams. Each month 50 preachers graduate from these courses, familiar with all modern social, economic, and psychological issues.

Furthermore, we have established training centers in the governorates. Each governorate has a center which trains preachers so that they may be well-informed on modern issues and thus able to counteract any zealous or excessive religious idea. The results of all this will be apparent very soon.

We have also begun to re-evaluate the activities of the mosques. By that I mean that starting next month, God willing, we will begin an experiment on the governorate level. Across the country, we have designated about 10 major mosques to be provided with the best 'ulema available, who will lecture on timely topics each week.

Every week the young person will find an extremely knowledgeable person at his mosque with whom he can discuss his problems. We will gradually extend this experiment throughout the republic.

We are going back to the Friday Mosque system in order to link the young people and children to the mosques through a reorganization of the Qur'an school system. We accept children at the age of 5 years, who come to the mosque to begin their education and their Islamic studies. We are also setting up medical clinics at some mosques so that the citizens can perform their religious duties, pray, and receive medical treatment. In addition to this, we are offering free remedial courses for general diploma students at mosques throughout the governorates. The Awqaf Ministry is paying the teachers' wages to facilitate the provision of this service to young Muslims.

In addition to all this, there is the written and aural word, in our publications and pamphlets on modern issues.

Re-examination Of Religious Programs

[Question] It is now being said that starting next year the religious programs on radio and television will be re-examined. Is this true?

[Answer] This is true. My esteemed colleague, Minister of Information Safwat al-Sharif, has formed a committee of specialists who, as these religious programs are developed, will remove any negative features which are incompatible with our values, so that these shows can appear in a form appropriate to the values of our society. This committee will also get rid of the negative aspects which the viewers and listeners had complained about. As far as I know, the information minister is making extraordinary efforts to achieve this end.

[Question] In spite of everything which is happening, some people describe Egypt as the stablest, calmest and least violent country in the Islamic world. Do you agree with this statement?

[Answer] I agree with this statement 1,000 percent.

8559

Interior Minister Discusses Disagreement With Opposition

45040038a Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic
23 Dec 87 pp 12-13

[Interview With Interior Minister Zaki Badr, by Najwa 'Uwayd; date and place not specified]

[Excerpts] "There is no prior quarrel between me and anyone. There is no hostility between me and the opposition, at least on my part. There is no dispute between me and the university faculty clubs. The law is the arbiter in my relations with all parties.

"Truthfully and sincerely, in my heart I have only love and affection for everyone. But if anyone, no matter what his position, breaks the law, I must take a stand in my capacity as the interior minister, who is responsible for maintaining security, executing the law, and protecting society.

"Whoever imagines otherwise is mistaken, however much I might exceed my rights. In everything I do I always ask myself: am I right or wrong? Some people might not realize that the most difficult decision for me to make is to order someone's detention, even though this is done for the sake of the nation's safety and security."

With these words, Interior Minister Zaki Badr began his frank, objective interview with AKHIR SA'AH. During the interview, the minister spoke about the hate campaign and the attempts at character defamation to which he has been subjected lately, and answered AKHIR SA'AH's hard-hitting questions about what is being said about him and his methods.

For a start, there must be some straight talk to put matters in their proper perspective and assess them judiciously. Zaki Badr assumed the responsibilities of interior minister—the man responsible for Egypt's security and safety—under the difficult and critical circumstances which followed the Central Security forces uprisings. He had to deal with the situation in the Central Security Agency and restore discipline to its ranks.

Then he was confronted with escalating violence and terrorism among extremist religious groups and other organizations, which eventually included assassination attempts, sedition, and intimidation. He had to react decisively to this extremism and lay siege to terrorism.

In between doing this and that, Zaki Badr has been putting Egypt's house of security in order from within. He has had to thwart the plots of Egypt's enemies, either Iran or Libya, who are trying to upset our stability and rock our security. Thus the man has engaged in unavoidable battles with extremist groups, drug smugglers, law-breakers, terrorist groups financed from overseas, and anyone who violates Egypt's legitimacy.

AKHIR SA'AH confronted Interior Minister Zaki Badr with all the accusations which have been made against him, since he has the right to reply to them and explain the facts. This interview was heated and frank. It began with a discussion of the conflict which has broken out between the minister and some journalists, particularly those with the opposition press, and the deteriorating relations between him and the journalists.

[Question] Don't you think that some of the words you have used have been, as some journalists have described them, rather harsh?

[Answer] Maybe so, but don't you agree with me that the words which those journalists have used in dealing with me have been even harsher, and have received wider dissemination? Aren't I entitled, like any citizen, to respond to such attacks in the same manner? Why should some journalists give themselves the freedom to attack an official, while denying that official the same right?

Democracy, which they say is necessary and which they claim to be solicitous about, requires, first of all, equal rights and duties.

[Question] Mr. Minister, haven't you said of journalists as a whole that they need to study ethics?

[Answer] I was talking about a training course for new journalists, and what sort of programs this course should include. In the course of the discussion, I said words to the effect that one of the important subjects which such a course ought to teach is the ethics and traditions of the journalistic profession. What I meant was understood in the context of the discussion.

But some people quickly seized upon my words and began interpreting them any which way they wanted, and even took them as a jumping-off point for attacking me personally and the security agencies.

[Question] So what do you think of the journalists' sit-in at the union to protest your conduct towards them?

[Answer] I tell you frankly that in everything I do, I ask myself whether I am right or wrong. If I am wrong, I am not ashamed to apologize. If I am right, I don't care whether anyone is pleased or angry. I never try to gain satisfaction at the expense of the public welfare or the law.

As for the journalists' sit-in at the union, what was the purpose? If, as some people claim, the purpose was to convey their protests to the officials, the journalist has a pen in his hand, and a newspaper at his disposal, in which he can write whatever he wants. So why sit in?

Finally, I would like to point out that those who sat in violated, first of all, the decisions of their union council, which had rejected the idea of a sit-in.

The Disagreement With the Opposition

[Question] As for your heated battle with the opposition, which has coincided with this first battle, you have made several attempts to build bridges between you and the opposition, but these bridges have been quickly destroyed. Who is responsible? What now?

[Answer] Quite frankly, Zaki Badr was not the person responsible, and neither were the members of the opposition. The disagreements between us have never been personal, but have involved differing points of view on completely contradictory stands and policies. Some

opposition parties look upon provocation and agitation as primary goals and methods of operation, while the interior minister's responsibility is upholding security and implementing the laws.

Therefore, although I hope that I am mistaken, I don't think that there is any way the interior minister and some of the opposition parties can get together, unless one of us changes his policy in order to join together with the other for the same goal. Naturally, I cannot change my policy of protecting the law and the regime, but perhaps they can change their policy of agitation and defamation. This way, bridges of understanding could be built between us without any disagreement.

[Question] What is the reason for your poor relations with several unions (the lawyers', the university faculties', and the journalists' unions)?

[Answer] I am responsible for carrying out the law. I must confront whoever breaks the law with measures ordained by the law. Every group contains individuals who have broken the law; we cannot give them protection or immunity just because they belong to this or that group.

As for my relations with the unions as a whole, I affirm my esteem and respect for them—those who are truly loyal.

But there are some elements who are trying to stir things up, sidetrack them, and twist words to serve their own goal of harming relations with the various unions.

The Faculty Clubs

The third conflict, which has basically been concocted against the interior minister, is the conflict over the faculty clubs. The minister is said to have asked that some of these clubs be dissolved, because he feels that they have become fronts for parties. The faculties feel that their clubs are ivory towers totally removed from party activity.

[Question] Some people feel that you want so much to impose your control over university activities that you have demanded that the faculty clubs be dissolved.

[Answer] As I see it, the university is completely independent within its sphere of activities, and no one can interfere in its legitimate affairs. I have declared and affirmed that the university guards exist solely to assist the universities and carry out their instructions.

As for what has been said about the faculty clubs, when I went to the Alexandria faculty club, I was the first minister to have met with it. I spent more than 5 hours there, during which time we talked about national and political issues. All I am trying to say is that there are

some opposition tendencies which are trying to use the faculty clubs to further their own goals of stirring things up and provoking security and the regime.

The Emergency Law and Terrorism

Some groups in our society have demanded that the emergency law be abolished, while other groups accuse the security forces of taking advantage of this law. The security agencies feel that this law is essential, because Egypt is exposed to danger.

[Question] From your remarks, Mr. Minister, I understand that Egypt will continue to be under the emergency law. Is there no hope of return to ordinary laws?

[Answer] The function of the emergency law, or any new law, is to help us confront the latest manifestations of terrorism, violence, and drugs. If such laws existed, and were powerful enough, there would be no need to demand the continuation of the emergency law.

[Question] Even though the emergency law has been widely used, it has been observed that terrorism is increasing and drug smuggling is spreading. How have we benefitted from this law?

[Answer] A more correct comparison might be made between what has actually happened under the emergency law and what might happen in the absence of such a law. I can confidently say that the increase in terrorist crimes and narcotics makes it essential that the emergency law be continued, not abolished. In fact, I might even say more than that—some of its clauses should be re-examined, because they do not provide sufficient powers to cope with many situations.

Detention—When Does It Happen?

[Question] There has also been a lot of talk about arrests and detention during investigations of incidents of violence and organized crime. The question is, how is a citizen detained? What is detention? What categories of offenders are detained?

[Answer] The hardest decrees for me to sign are the detention decrees. I tell you frankly that I handle such decrees with strict justice. The decision to detain someone begins when a security agency presents the results of its investigations into the actual activities of the person to be detained. These investigations must prove that his previous activities, for which he was charged or sentenced, are illegal. Most of the time, I refer the opinion of the first security authority to another authority, in order to get its opinion as to whether this person should be detained. Finally, I issue the detention decree.

Detention means holding a citizen by placing him in a secure place. Only four categories of people are detained: persons engaged in violence and terrorism, violent criminals, drug smugglers, and big currency dealers who have sabotaged the national economy.

I would like to point out that no citizen has been detained just for expressing a political opinion or an opposition stand.

[Question] Right now the opposition papers are raising the issue of torturing detainees and political prisoners. What are the facts? How do you explain the fact that all the Interior Ministry's detainees are being released by the courts, except for those involved in the Asyut case?

[Answer] The guideline which I follow is that not a single citizen should remain in detention unless there is a need for such detention, and then only for as long as this need lasts. In many cases, I have issued decrees to detain some citizens who investigations confirm would on certain occasions engage in activities which might be described as violent. I have then released them as soon as those occasions were over. Something like this happened during the last People's Assembly elections, when we learned that a very small group was getting ready to attack some election committees and destroy the ballot boxes. We were forced to detain them, and then we released them right after the elections.

As for the one case you referred to, there are many cases. The courts uphold the continued detention of a certain percentage of detainees, but hand down release decrees in the case of the overwhelming majority.

Faking Pictures of Torture

[Question] What are the facts about the torture of detainees during investigations? How do you explain the fact that suspects are acquitted after having confessed to committing the crime?

[Answer] First of all, I spoke in detail earlier about the allegations of detainee torture that were presented to the People's Assembly. I said then, and I still maintain, that this is a standard technique resorted to by anyone who wants to defend himself and deny his confession. If there are proven, true cases of torture, we have a neutral judicial authority which puts no one above questioning, as is proven by the fact that it brought to court 14 police officers accused of torture. If there are any others who can prove their charges, nothing prevents them from taking the proper steps to institute a case. As for the pictures showing marks of torture, such things are easy to fake. If there is any evidence supporting the viewpoint of the proponents, let them present it to the investigative authorities.

As for the claims made by some opposition newspapers that some suspects in the assassination of Maj Gen Hasan Abu Basha had confessed to the crime and were

later proven to have not committed it, I challenge the allegation that even one of those suspects had confessed to the crime, as the press claims, either in the presence of the police or the public prosecutor. There were no confessions at all. They were only suspects around whom strong suspicions revolved, and who were then proven to be innocent of this particular crime. This does not rule out the possibility that they were members of the same extremist organization.

Police Excesses

[Question] In al-Qalyubiyah, the people are saying that a police officer was behind the death of three citizens. In Alexandria, the public and the press is saying, with brutal frankness, that the police were behind the cover-up of the death of Journalist Albert Tawfiq for private reasons. All of this comes in the midst of police excesses. What are the facts?

[Answer] There is no police agency in the entire world which can clear up the uncertainty surrounding each and every case, at least not as soon as it happens. The incidents to which you are referring are being investigated by the public prosecutor, and the police are giving him every possible assistance in order to arrive at the facts. However things stand, we don't drop any obscure case until we find out who did it, even after 1 year or more, as often happens in many criminal and political cases. The public prosecutor is investigating, and is getting our full assistance. One thing that is sure is that we will not cover up a mistake or a deviation committed by any police officer, no matter what his position or rank; we will make intense efforts to apprehend him and bring him to reckoning.

Hadi 'Abd-al-Mun'im's Flight

[Question] In a recent remark, Mr. Minister, you said that everyone who helped Hadi 'Abd-al-Mun'im get away will be called to account. However, the process was repeated again when the millionaire from Alexandria, who appropriated millions of Egyptian pounds from the banks, also escaped. This sequence was repeated in yet another incident involving the president of an investment company. So, what steps have you taken to deal with all these millionaires fleeing with the people's money?

[Answer] I would like to emphasize, and repeat again, that this case—the Hadi 'Abd-al-Mun'im case—is still under investigation. If it is proven that there was any shortcoming on the part of the police, we will not hesitate to resolutely punish the wrong-doer. What goes for Hadi 'Abd-al-Mun'im goes for everyone else. If the police are remiss in any way, it is my duty to call them to account.

The Confrontation With the Extremist Groups

[Question] Some accusations have been directed at the Interior Ministry and the security agencies, to the effect that ever since you took over as Interior Minister you have adopted harsh, violent methods in confronting extremism, and that this has led to a worsening of the security situation. Is violence the only method you consider appropriate for such a confrontation, or is there also the possibility of dialog based on objective understanding?

[Answer] Certainly, objective dialog will, at the very least, protect against the trends of the religious extremist elements and prevent them from attracting more young people and leading them astray with these extremist ideas. For this reason we support and encourage dialog. I might particularly emphasize the efforts of the esteemed awqaf minister, the mufti of al-Dayyar, and the religious organizations, particularly during the recent period. However, in the final analysis, dialog cannot possibly replace a firm confrontation with the activities of the religious extremists—those who set fire to video clubs and theatres, or assault their comrade students and college professors, or prevent student activities by claiming that they violate religious teachings. How can we confront them without the authority of the law?

As for the remark that such confrontation has led to an escalation of the situation, this is absolutely unacceptable. It is the silence over these elements' activities which helps escalate the situation by encouraging them to continue to flout the law and the society. We can see this from past experience. The extremist religious groups emerged in their most serious form in 1981, following a period of truce with these elements which allowed them to grow and become increasingly dangerous. The same thing happens with disease, which if we don't treat it will get more serious. For example, at the time, when I was governor of Asyut, I objected strongly to the policy of truce with the extremist elements, which were growing and becoming more troublesome without meeting with opposition from anyone. Their bloodthirsty methods were revealed during the 1981 incidents. To sum it up, dialog is necessary to prevent the emergence of new elements, but the existing elements reject dialog and openness, no matter what the proof. As they say, "Don't try to convince someone who doesn't want to be convinced."

The Terrorist Incidents And What Is Behind Them

[Question] Is all the terrorism, robbery, and drug smuggling now going on in Egypt intended to destroy Egypt's stability and security, or are they personal attempts against you because of the violence with which you are confronting extremism and lawlessness?

[Answer] There certainly are domestic and foreign variables behind the security threats we are seeing at present. On the foreign level, Egypt has firm stands which we find

are being rejected by some countries, which are trying to penetrate Egyptian security and stir up domestic unrest. When the full details of some of the recent terrorist incidents are made public, we will find definite links between these criminal activities and some foreign countries. On the domestic level, now that democracy has become predominant and deeply established, after a long period of absence, this has led to a misunderstanding on the part of some people who are more at ease with a democracy they can hide behind.

As for whether the general lawlessness is directed at me personally, I don't think that anyone would commit such disgusting crimes just to hurt Zaki Badr. Rather, the ones who wish me ill are the ones who repeat these remarks, which are part of the campaign of lies and misleading allegations which is pursuing me.

Manifestations of Violence: A Social Problem

[Question] In spite of all your efforts to arrest extremists and bring them to trial, extremism is still a marked feature of society. Drugs are still widespread, and the criminal security forces are the object of complaints.

[Answer] All these manifestations of violence, terrorism and narcotics are not just a security problem, but are also a social problem which must be confronted by alerting the citizens, educating them, and employing other preventive measures. I say quite frankly that security measures, even though they are extremely important, do not constitute a radical treatment. This is like someone who takes aspirin for a severe headache. True, aspirin is necessary to quiet the persistent pain, but it is only by treating the causes of the headache that one can eliminate it.

As for criminal security, in spite of several incidents referred to and reported by some of the newspapers, the statistics still stand, and the waves of visitors—overseas Egyptians and foreigners—who come to Egypt can see that Egypt is one of the safest countries in the world.

There are about 12 million people in Cairo. If we compare it to any other Eastern or Western capital, we find that Cairo, praise God, enjoys a security the likes of which exist nowhere else, even though there is some crime.

8559

Report of Cabinet Changes Predicted

45000019 London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 1 Feb 88 p 3

[Text] Diplomatic circles in Cairo expect sweeping changes on the ministerial level upon President Mubarak's return from his travel abroad. It is expected that Field Marshal Abu-Ghazalah will hold the post of Vice-President (Deputy of Head of State), while the current Chief of Staff, General Safiy al-Din Abu-Shanaf will be in charge of the Ministry of Defense, and General

Ibrahim al-'Urabi, the President of the Arab Organization for Military Industry, will be in charge of the Ministry of State and War Production.

Government Decides Not To Implement Housing Law

4504005b Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 4 Jan 88 p 1

[Text] The government has changed its mind regarding issuing the new housing law. The government had submitted to the People's Assembly a bill to define relations between landlords and tenants allowing rent of old houses to be increased by 5 to 25 percent and fixing the period of lease in agreement between the two parties (the landlord and the tenant).

The government was surprised by the strong reaction among tenants of low-rent old houses. Hypocritically, the government decided to favor the tenants, who number in the millions, rather than the small landlords who number in the hundreds and who have been waiting for the issuance of the new law that would give them the right to increase the rent of their buildings, an increase which was not merely dependent on the condition of the building.

As a result, the government has withdrawn the bill and submitted another one allowing the sale of apartments to the tenants in return for the tenant paying 50 to 200 times the rent as the cost of the apartment. But the government was surprised by the fury of both the landlords and tenants, and so it withdrew the second bill. The new law, according to the government announcement in the national press, was supposed to be issued last December.

AL-AHRAR has learned that the bill defining relations between the landlord and the tenant for agricultural land has also been placed on the back burner, fearing the farmers' fury after the government's announcement last year that it intended to issue such a law.

The government has agreed with its NDP members in the People's Assembly that this session should merely be confined to warding off opposition attacks on the government, which take the form of questions and requests for information.

13305

Commentary Deplores Israeli Attitudes Toward Arabs

45040048a Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic
24 Dec 87 p 5

[Commentary by Muhammad al-Hayawan under the rubric, "A Word of Love"]

[Text] A lady from Israel said to an Israeli newspaper, "These Arabs are like stones; you can't swallow them." Another woman said that her father had burned 17 Arab

houses and that she was sorry because he had not burned the houses of all the Arabs. A third woman, who was planting flowers around her house, said, "I wouldn't mind laying these flowers on Arab graves. The important thing is that they die. It doesn't matter if they die again." It was the same expression that one of the Israeli generals echoed. He said, "A good Arab is a dead Arab."

These words were published in Israel's newspapers on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of al-Sadat's visit to Israel. Almost all who spoke to the newspapers agreed that the Camp David Treaty was merely paper, good for nothing, because in their view it is not enough for an Egyptian minister and Weizmann to put their heads together; from Israel's point of view, all the heads have to get together.

A professor of history, however, gives the problem another form. He says that settlements which take place under bad circumstances inevitably lead to bad circumstances, and that al-Sadat took the agreement with him [when he died], because the supply of stored-up hatred among the Egyptians is still high. "Hatred," he says, "is still living in bed with us."

The Israeli history professor bases his interpretation of the "supply of stored-up hatred" on the reports of Israeli tourists who have visited Cairo. One of them says, "In Cairo I felt I needed a protective vest to ward off the looks of hatred from the Egyptians." One tourist says that when Egyptians society receives Israeli tourists, it turns into a society of ice. Some restaurant and hotel workers take a vacation when a group of Israelis arrives.

Some [Israelis] try to be reasonable and to understand the supply of stored-up hatred among Egyptians. One of them says that he asked a restaurant worker, and the reply was, "Do you want me to serve food to the people who killed my son?" Another says that any Egyptian peasant who hears about the murder of an Israel in South Lebanon asks his wife for a glass of tea so that he can listen to the end of the report. Whatever America may have done to him, this peasant will leave his children a testament of nine words: "If you meet a Jew, kill him before he kills you." He noted the connection between American assistance and normalization!

On this basis, not one of the Jews has come close to the essence of the problem. Can we picture any Egyptian satisfied with Israel while Israeli soldiers kill Arabs every day in the West Bank, Gaza, and South Lebanon, run rampant in the Arab region, and refuse to return Taba? If they asked themselves this question, they would find enough answers about the supply of hatred to be found among Egyptians.

12937

Editors Deplore High-Level Embezzlement, Theft

State Officials Involved

45040049a Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 30 Dec 87 p 3

[Editorial by Dr Faruq 'Abd-al-Halim; "Those Who Are Robbing Egypt"]

[Text] Today Egypt is in debt to the tune of US\$50 billion, or about 100 billion falling Egyptian pounds. Perhaps it may not matter much whether these loans and debts were actually incurred, as they say, because of the war, or for the sake of development, construction and infrastructures, or for productive investment, or for arranging food, medical care and clothing for 50 million people. The situation might be somewhat less distressing if the people shared the poverty, the difficulties and the harsh life equally, and if we were all equally worried, distressed, imposed on and pillaged. But the bitter fact, and the grievous truth, is otherwise!

In Egypt today there are thousands of people who count their wealth in the millions. At the same time, there are millions living in graveyards, hovels, and tin shanties, in the direst need of just a few piasters in order to buy a hunk of bread and a mouthful of water. Even stranger is the fact that today most of Egypt's millionaires are thieves, swindlers, narcotics dealers, importers of rotten food, and lawbreakers who steal and rob and then flee with the utmost ease!

Even more unfortunate and astonishing is the fact that some "officials" are helping them do this and making things easy for them—officials whom Egypt has entrusted with its security, its borders, its money, and the sweat of its wretched, struggling, oppressed people. The brutally simple proof of this is the fact that this is not merely a matter of an individual case or an isolated incident in which the fugitive criminal was miraculously able to make fools and laughingstocks of the officials. No, it is an ongoing, recurring phenomenon sure to succeed easily every time.

For a start, just consider the examples of Shams Badran, 'Ali Shafiq, and Tawfiq 'Abd-al-Hayy, and then go on to the latest, most disgusting cases, such as the female swindler Huda 'Abd-al-Mun'im. Then ask yourself how all these people, and others like them, were able to get away so easily. How much did they take with them? Have you ever heard of a serious administrative investigation into how any one of them got away?

Has there ever been a day when you felt that the state was seriously chasing them down and punishing them? That it was seriously trying to succeed, even once, in arresting one of them, or else those who helped them get away, so as to put an end to this destructive, criminal, disgusting sequence of events?

Nothing of the sort has happened, because important officials are behind the swindlers' escapes. These get-aways have become a phenomenon which occurs with the knowledge and assistance of officials subservient to the government. They are not just isolated incidents which occur against the will of the government and its men.

Right now there is no use or sense in repeatedly questioning the officials. The questions should now be directed to the governed, to those who work hard for their money. How long will they remain silent, storing up the fruits of their hard labor, which then fall so easily into the hands of swindlers and thieves and lawbreakers, who get away in broad daylight with the help of bribed officials?

How long, you wretched people, will you continue to put up with this distress? At the beginning of each month, you scrimp and save and recount your money a thousand times in order to buy a piece of bread. The price you pay one day to buy a single pair of shoes upsets your whole budget. Shortly before the swindler Huda 'Abd-al-Mun'im fled, she had 500 pairs of shoes. When the fugitive Baligh Hamadi was being investigated, it was found that he had 300 pairs of shoes for himself alone!

How long, you miserable people, will you continue to pay out and sweat, so that the fruits of your labor can go to swindlers, con men and embezzlers? Haven't you once wondered about what Abu-Dharr al-Ghaffari, the great Companion of the Prophet, once said: "He who cannot find his daily bread amazes me. How is it that he doesn't draw his sword and attack people?"

Today, you weak-spirited people, those who are robbing Egypt, and those who are behind them, deserve for you to draw your swords. The cowards' eyes are not asleep!

Workers' Money Embezzled

45040049b Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 30 Dec 87 p 6

[Editorial by 'Abd-al-Ghani 'Ashmawi: "The Great Escape"]

[Text] In its Thursday 3 December 1987 issue, the weekly AL-WAFD published a report, confirmed and reprinted by AL-AHALI in its Wednesday 16 December 1987 issue, that an important political figure, who had been the president of one of the largest union organizations in Egypt, had fled the country after successfully embezzling an estimated 8 million pounds. This news is something which we should not pass over lightly. It is important not because the person got away or embezzled the money, for such things have become everyday occurrences which no one pays any attention to, now that they have become permanent features.

Rather, the news is important because this individual, whose name the papers concealed as they usually do with big robbers, whether they are in positions of power or

have left their posts, had acquired this money from the product of the hard labor of the workers. This money had been compulsorily deducted from their wages, according to a law which had been passed especially for this purpose, and had been placed at his disposal so that it could be spent on behalf of the workers to improve their living conditions. Therefore, it is money which was appropriated by means of a legal deception. The matter ended with the money's being smuggled overseas to benefit a murderer who had successfully cheated the authorities for a long time.

Faced with this serious incident, it is not enough for us to raise our eyebrows in surprise, as if we were hearing the story of Samirah Malyan, Majidah al-Khatib, Huda 'Abd-al-Mun'im, or anyone else who plundered, looted and got away, and to then allow our faces to return to normal after a few moments. No, sirs! This money was collected from the fruits of hard work, as I have mentioned, by means of a legalized swindle of the weak workers who have no power, whose sources of income do not include drug dealing, currency dealing, immorality, defrauding banks, or other modern dealings. The rancor of the millions of victimized workers is not healed by covering up for this un-named shedder of blood, or refraining from bringing him to trial. I have heard that the above-mentioned person did not flee, but was sent out of the country, like an important visitor, after the investigations began to point to other partners and other big figures.

So what should be done with the rest of the gang, which consisted wholly of hardened criminals, which he had formed while he was president of the union organization? One of them fled to America, where the CIA took him in and hired him, so that he could escape the charges against him. This means that these organizations contain branches which spy on the working class for American intelligence. As for the other members of the gang, they have made arrangements to get away at the right time. One of them is a former union president, who is now running the gang from his home.

Then, what is the story of the 8 million pounds which were embezzled? Where is the rest? Where are the many flats in the Roxy area of Misr al-Jadidah, and the others in Mahattat al-Ramal, where crimes of immorality were perpetrated and suicides took place? Where are the villas in the Gamsah, al-Muntazah, al-'Ajami, al-Fayid, and 10 Ramadan areas? The gas stations and service stations equipped with the latest equipment? The transport and contracting companies, and so forth? This all clearly shows us that there is a fifth column working within the state agencies, like a huge machine, to devastate and enslave the country.

We might take warning and counsel from these verses of ancient poetry:

Through the ashes I see the gleam of fire, And I fear that it will blaze up.

If it is not put out by intelligent people, Its fuel will be corpses, and it will spread.

State Audits Called For

45040049c Cairo AKHBAR AL-YAWM in Arabic
2 Jan 88 p 5

[Editorial by Nabil Abazah: "The True Note"]

[Text] During the Forties, there appeared in Egypt a new class which was the target of intense criticism and ridicule because of its Western behavior. These people were called "the war rich," because their money came from selling war surplus items and dealing with the English army.

Now another new class of millionaires has appeared, which we could call "the false dream rich," because they are selling false dreams to the people. They appeared at the same time as the Openness, and their vast fortunes came either from selling drugs, especially heroin and cocaine, or from selling currency on the black market, or from announcing housing projects which people would rush to put down payments on, and which were later found to be imaginary or else built on state-owned land.

The easiest method which these rich people used to make their huge fortunes was to borrow millions of dollars and pounds, supposedly to build factories and companies, without putting up any guarantees. When the loan installments were not paid, the banks were suddenly surprised to find that the investor had fled, or that the projects which had been presented to them were imaginary.

What helped this class of millionaires to emerge was the lack of proper accounting. The state closed their eyes to these crimes, which ended up sabotaging the national economy, because the money which these banks lost was public money owned by the state. In addition, the state was reluctant to protect citizens from being cheated by the sellers of false dreams, on the pretext that the law does not protect the simple-minded!

The state also yielded to the cries of those who wanted to keep the state from interfering in the regulation of the economy, so that those who had money would not get scared, and so that investors would not flee Egypt.

I am not against permissible wealth and riches and legitimate ways of making money. However, I am against monstrous wealth resulting from the sale of narcotics and false dreams to the citizens, and the wasting of public money.

The state ought to revive the "where did you get it" law, and apply it more extensively, and audit those millionaires who have amassed huge fortunes within very short times. The state audits only employees and workers, and asks them to submit earnings statements. It holds them accountable for everything they earn legally.

As for the rich millionaires, they are not asked to submit such statements, and therefore no one knows anything about their fortunes, what they consist of, and how they got them.

What is more, the Tax Administration doesn't know how they got their money. There are no specific ways of auditing them, nor are there any files on their actual incomes. Unfortunately, the Tax Administration is neither informed about, nor audits, anyone but employees.

The state should audit these millionaires, follow up their activities, and find out the truth about their fortunes, in order to protect society and keep them from setting a bad example for young people.

8559

LEBANON

Fadlallah Urges Undisguised Imperative for Islamic State

44040081 Beirut AL-'AHD in Arabic 2 Jan 88 p 2

[Text] Ayatallah Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah expressed the opinion that "the proposal of an Islamic state has become acceptable even in Christian quarters, even if it has not yet become an object of conviction among them." He called upon all workers "to propose Islam with complete candor as an integral political project that moves without disguise, for the catchwords of disguises have been discarded, and they have not preserved Islam."

He said, "We must jolt the cowardly reality that is afraid of thought. We must defeat it by bringing up the political question, even as the fighters (mujahidin) have defeated it on the battlefields."

This came in the course of a speech he gave to the community at the Islamic Legal Institute in Bi'r Hasan at a commemoration held a week after the martyr's death of Shaykh Wisam Zay'ur, a student of the institute and a hero of the exemplary operation the Islamic resistance carried out last week against the position of Tallat al-Suwayda' in the al-Nabatiyah area. The operation was named "Operation of the Martyrs of the Occupied Territory."

His Eminence said:

This was aspiration for the line that would turn the community from a community living outside the zone of challenges, one that the world with all its movement, its variables, and its developments passed by while the community remained busied with a speculative atmosphere most of which was remote from the reality of life, into an community possessing knowledge, piety, and movement in order to stand up to the challenges and take charge of the practical response to the challenge that confronts Islam and its movement in the arena.

The Community Engaged in Struggle (Jihad)

In the history of our communities, the scholars of al-Najaf all left when Islamic lands in Iraq were subjected to English occupation. As you know, the government there was Ottoman. In terms of Islamic legal rite it did not agree with the community. Sometimes the community became tied up from many of its rules, actions, and curbs on freedom at a sectarian level. But there was something whose name was "danger to Islam." There was unbelief coming to challenge Islam, oppress the life of Muslims, and encompass the entire reality of Muslims within its designs and governance. At that point, all the sectarian barriers disappeared; the scholars of al-Najaf considered only that there was danger to Islam and that this danger had to be confronted. The community under the leadership of its senior scholars, was able to make that period a period of struggle (jihad) that still constitutes the powerful illuminating and enlightening impetus in the history of Muslim Iraq.

Thus we see that throughout this history the communities in al-Najaf, Qom, and Mashhad have been able to move to confront and repel the challenges by means of the possibilities for confrontation available to them.

Islamic Government, Leadership of the Revolution

From Qom to al-Najaf, the idea of Islamic government crystallized and burst forth. Many people ridiculed the idea that Islam would have a government, that Islam would be victorious in a revolution, that Islamic scholars would be able to lead the revolution, and that it would be possible for these scholars, having led the revolution, to lead the state. There is thinking that says that Islamic scholars can destroy, but not build. This idea may be used in talking about all Islamic movements, but [it is used] especially [in talking about] those that move within the framework of the members of the Prophet's family (on them be peace).

Many people may make the criticism that there are great gaps in the experiment of Islamic rule in Iran. There are non-Islamic regulations still being applied. There are problems in a society that has not yet solved the economic problem. Many problems have not been solved. And yet...

You cannot undo in eight or ten years the history that over a period of hundreds of years built foundations for backwardness. You have to take a long time.

If we think we can undo all this history by one sermon, or by a revolution, or by any movement or proposed government, it is impossible, because God's ordinances set conditions for every thing: a certain span of time, and a certain situation. Therefore, challenges still confront Islamic activity, and we must expect many negative elements and problems in the Islamic state and the Islamic movement, for the Muslims who lead the field are not infallible. Islam does not operate in a chamber

with closed doors and windows; it moves in a field with no roof and no walls. Winds blow on it from every side. Storms press upon it from every direction. Earthquake can shake its existence at any moment. Do not then expect an Islamic movement or an Islamic state free of flaws, free of shortcomings, free of problems. This is something we expect in Paradise; on earth we must expect more of these things, so that our life may be entirely a struggle (jihad) to straighten what is askew, complete what is lacking, strengthen what is weak, and make firm what is shaky.

Insistence on the Islamic Imperative

On this basis, we look upon the Islamic state as being the experience of the communities that led the nation and gave the movement of politics its Islamic meaning. We therefore reject from our Islamic positions the idea that anyone other than a man who lives the godliness of thought in Islam should take charge of the direction and movement of Islamic reality. Anyone who does not cherish thoughts of Islam in his mind, feelings of Islam in his upbringing, goals of Islam in his goals, or someone with a complex about proposing Islam or speaking in its name—such a man is not fit to lead even a small position in the field of Islam. Whenever we open the way for any person not Islamic in his entirety to be a leader in any position, we betray the mission of Islam. Anyone who moves in this direction betrays the mission, because he hands over the mission's land and society to someone who does not harbor the thoughts, spirit, or goal of the mission. We speak in this place on the basis of our consciousness of what Islam is in its entirety, not Islam from some of its aspects.

(Addressing the scholars and students, His Eminence said:)

Perhaps you have read in some of your principles of logic, "Whatever lacks a thing does not give it." He who lacks Islam in his spirit and mind cannot give people Islam—this if we think Islamically. If we think logically, the matter is different. Perhaps many of us do not think Islamically, but only think realistically. They therefore have complexes about any Islamic proposal in reality. But we have said it explicitly: If we were moving Islamically in America, we would call for the Islamic state in America. If we were moving Islamically in Europe, we would call for the Islamic state in Europe; for the Messenger of God (may God grant him blessing and peace) proclaimed in Islam the thought, law, and path for the entire world.

We must confront the challenge on this basis. We must propose all of Islam in an intellectual, not a chaotic way. We must propose Islam in its real form, as God revealed it. We must not try to propose part of it.

Why do you read Islamic law in your course of studies? Is it merely for "culture"? Or is it so that you can open the way for it to live in people's individual, social, and

political lives? How can you study an integral Islam and then move in the field refraining from proposing this integral Islam? Islam will not remain on the field of conflict if we want to isolate it from complete proposal. Do not fear reality. Reality is a coward. Reality frightens with its words, bugbears, and appearances; in some cases it kills. But it pulverizes those who fear. Those who jolt the reality—they may fall in some stages, stand up in a second stage, fall a bit in the third stage. But in the fourth and fifth stages, they stand facing forward.

We Must Annihilate the Reality

You must learn how to jolt the reality, how to be bold in the face of the reality, how to have courage in confronting the reality. We are now living the age of courage in the field of [armed] struggle (jihad). Israel frightened the entire Islamic world and appeared as the invincible element in 1967. The Islamic world, and especially the Arab world, experienced such a psychological defeat that if any of us heard the word "Israel," he trembled in fear, as many of us did with regard to the agents of Israel. The art of fear still is being marketed and moved in all the Arab and many of the Islamic arenas. But the experience of our believing Muslim people in the 'Amil Mountains, in the West Biqa', and before that in Beirut—children and women and old men, they confronted the enemy without weapons. They confronted the enemy with sticks and stones, with paper airplanes, boiling oil, and primitive weapons, and they discovered that the enemy was a human being like themselves: he could die, he could flee, he could be wounded, he could fear, he could enter a mental hospital because of his fear and complexes. They learned that he was not made of gold or silver or of a different species. He was like people. No, he was less than a person: if he was separated from his motor vehicle, he turned into a terrified mouse.

When our people and fighters (mujahidin) jolted the reality, they discovered that they had been living under a great delusion in falling prey to absolute fear. In its confrontation with the reality of the Multinational Force in Beirut and the Israeli reality in the South, the Islamic resistance was able to prove that there had been delusion and that those who had feared could frighten.

Likewise in the political field. Whenever the idea of the Islamic state was proposed, people thought it strange. People ridiculed it. People laughed a lot, so that it became the butt of a joke when Imam Khomeini (may God preserve him) talked about it in al-Najaf. When Sayyid Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr and his brothers talked about it, people considered it merely learned discussion; for who could stand in the face of America, Britain, and France? But people finally became convinced that the Islamic state could arise.

However, in Lebanon the issue still encounters great difficulty through Muslims, before [encountering difficulty from] non-Muslims. The Muslims contribute many pronouncements: We do not want the Islamic state. We

do not want an Islamic republic in Lebanon. We are only looking for coexistence—so that the Christians do not get any complexes. Thus we removed Islam from being an active challenging element in the field of the struggle. We kept it in the community, in the mosques, in Islamic studies, and in university lectures. It was forbidden for it to enter the political arena in Lebanon as a political project to be proposed as an alternative to the reality. This still frightens many, because they fear the Christians and others will get complexes. But when we proposed the idea of the Islamic state in an intellectual way, we said to them, "We propose the [Islamic] state, but we do not want it by random violence. Neither will we replace it with anything else. We will strive for it as the others strive for it, with our intellectual means, our political means, and our military confrontations, like any party in the field. If people become convinced of it, thank God that conviction turns into reality. If people do not become convinced of it, we shall continue to go forward until people do become convinced of it, just as the Imam al-Husayn (upon him be peace) proposed: 'Whoever accepts me with true acceptance, God is more deserving thereof. Whoever turns me away, I bear it patiently.'"

With this style that burst onto the scene and excited a great deal of talk, we earned the epithets of "extremism," "fanaticism," "sternness," and all such words. But all of them shattered in the face of the reality that imposed itself. The proposal has become acceptable even in Christian quarters.

The proposal has become acceptable, even if it has not yet become an object of conviction among them. At this stage, we are struggling for the political society to accept Islam as one of the forces moving in the arena of political conflict as an active political element, to be looked at from this perspective, not as a sectarian element in the arena. We need great effort to embed this concept firmly. We need great patience to open the way for it to take root in the reality. [This we must do] by nurturing the movement of this concept in the movement of reality. I therefore believe that all workers in the Islamic field must propose Islam with complete candor as an integral political project, one that contains politics within itself, moves in the positions of politics, struggles with the political reality, and moves without disguise. For the disguises we put on Islam served the disguises and did not preserve Islam. A disguise may protect you, but it will not protect your distinctive appearance. It may protect your person, but it will not protect your distinctive appearance. We need to protect the distinctive Islamic appearance.

Therefore, we live within a community that carries on struggle (jihad), a community that challenges, and a community that rises in revolt. All of these martyrs represent the credibility of this reality. However, you must not undervalue the struggle (jihad) of learning, [as embodied] in your persons. For God has said: "It is not for the believers to go forth totally; but why should not a

party of every section of them go forth, to become learned in religion, and to warn their people when they return to them, that haply they may beware?" [Qur'an 9:122] This means that God wants there to be as part of the community people who carry the mission forward competently, and that those who bear the mission should be those who straighten the line of the resistance fighters in the arena of struggle (jihad), the line of the politicians in the arena of politics, and the line of those who engage in general work in life. When the question is one of a general call to arms, we must all go forth. But when the question is [only] at a certain stage, we must consider that just as [armed] struggle (jihad) has its value and greatness, so the struggle (jihad) of learning has its value and greatness. When I say "the struggle (jihad) of learning," I do not mean the formal situation of learning. Islam's learning is a trust that God has placed on your shoulders. You must give all your time to the learning you are studying. You must work to fill all your time with your studies and your struggle (jihad). That is your demonstration, that is your protest, that is everything. For the arena needs scholars, not pseudo-scholars. We need men who stand to confront the challenge; we do not need pseudo-men. Pseudo-men may give an impression of weight, but they do not give its reality.

The arena is experiencing unusual ignorance, because scholars are few, and because many have begun to study for a year or two in order to become "His Excellence, the scholar" or "His Eminence, the scholar." The political and social reality bestows titles on them that they ought to be ashamed to have applied to them.

Islam needs scholars at the upper level of learning. We need mujtahids [jurists competent to make independent decisions] at every stage and in every country. We need people who come close to ijtihad [competence to make independent legal judgments], even if they are unable to be mujtahids. We need eminent [shaykhs], even if they cannot reach a high stage. But we do not need superficial people who memorize a few words to use in the arena of the ignorant, so that their personality may swell in the eyes of the ignorant by means of their duping of the ignorant. Whoever does not find in himself the competence to be a learned man who masters his learning should withdraw. Anyone who does not find in himself the competence to devote himself fully to his learning, let him withdraw, so that only those remain who carry on the mission of learning and live the struggle (jihad) of learning.

In actuality, you do not now bear a responsibility in it, but the future is difficult and dangerous. The scene of violence that now lives in our Islamic reality may be veiling the danger that awaits us in the arena of intellectual struggle. When the situation calms down somewhat, all the arenas of unbelief will rush to encircle and overthrow the movement of Islam, unless within Islam there are scholars in the true sense of the word to stand fast before them.

LIBYA

Maltese-Libyan Relations Improve

35280081z Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian
27/28 Dec 87 p 11

[Text] Valletta—Starting next 1 February Libyan and Maltese citizens will be able to cross their respective borders bearing only an identity card. The news was made known yesterday by an informed source in the Maltese capital, Valletta.

This decision was announced at the end of a three-day visit to Malta concluded on 24 December (1987) by the Libyan Secretary of Industry, Fathi Hamed Ben Shatwan.

Before leaving the island, the Libyan official expressed the hope that in 1988 exchanges between the two countries would double. The measure is particularly important for Maltese workers in Libya who until now have had to obtain an exit visa from Libyan authorities in order to return to their country, and they were not always successful.

At the beginning of January, according to what was learned from the source, Maltese Prime Minister Eddie Fenech Adami will make a visit to the Libyan capital during which he will meet with Colonel Qadhafi, and he will sign an agreement for a one year renewal of Libyan oil shipments to the small Mediterranean island.

Last 11 December the two Mediterranean countries exchanged documents for ratification of the accord regarding the partitions of the continental shelf.

Based on this accord Libya and Malta will accept the decision of the international court in the Hague on the partition of the continental shelf, rich in petroleum, and has thus put an end to a dispute which has lasted for over seven years.

In past years the government of Tripoli has always refused to discuss the decision of the court in The Hague.

13328/12913

MOROCCO

Security, Military Appointments

ld120351 Rabat Domestic Service in Arabic
1600 GMT 11 Feb 88

[Text] KING Hassan today appointed Mr Mohamed Dharif director general of the Administration of Construction, Planning of the National Territory and Protection of the Natural Environment, and as director of the military housing bureau.

The king also appointed Colonel Major Aziz el-Ouazzani as director general of national security, and Colonel Major Bouchaib Arroub as director of the Third Bureau at the higher armed forces command. Addressing them, the king says the appointments do not mean a change of orientation, but putting the right men in the right places. He praised the new appointees's past work and urged them to continue their good work.

SAUDI ARABIA

Russian Author Traces Opposition in Saudi Arabia

44040086 Cairo AL-YAQZAH AL-'ARABIYAH in Arabic Dec 87 pp 27-39

[Article by Fikri 'Abd al-Muttalib: "Clandestine Opposition Movements in Saudi Arabia"]

[Text] If Western propaganda had persistently been describing the Soviet Union and the socialist camp states as the "iron curtain" countries, with all what this means in terms of secrecy and seclusion in all political, economic, social, and cultural levels in those societies, then the secrecy shrouding the domestic situation in the Saudi Arabian Kingdom rightfully puts it in the rank of the "steel curtain" countries, if indeed there are countries that fall within this category in the first place.

Nevertheless, the western and "liberal" media never sought to investigate and explore aspects of political life inside Saudi society, a society that has been quite exposed by the West. Why? Because intelligence organizations and strategic analysis centers in the West have enough secrets to silence the media in the Western countries.

Therefore, it is no longer a surprise when an eminent journalist in the "closed totalitarian" countries—as the West put it—comes forward to present to world public opinion the most serious documented facts about Saudi society in his book "History of Saudi Arabia" published by House of Progress in Moscow.

The writer is the famous historian and orientalist Vasiliev who worked as PRAVDA correspondent in several Middle Eastern countries, including 10 continuous years in Egypt. At present he occupies a senior post in the African Institute which comes under the Soviet Academy of Sciences. His book represents the fruit of over 20 years of work in that he analyzes the developments and changes that occurred in Saudi society for two and a half centuries and offers a comprehensive study of the political, economic, and social history of the Arabian peninsula since the emergence of the Wahhabis movement in the 18th century and up to the time King Fahd assumed power in mid 1982, underlining the Islamic reform movement, the nature of class changes, the impact of the oil factor etc. The study is based on sources in eight languages, including ancient Arab travel diaries, foreign

policy archives of Russia and the Soviet Union, and official Saudi documents. This is in addition to diaries by European explorers and social and economic studies pertaining to that area.

But the most serious thing the writer reveals inside the Al Sa'ud family is the nature of the domestic political situation. He uncovers the extent of clandestine opposition movements, the role of the popular and workers' uprisings and unrest that broke out in the past years, and the connection between this and the political conflict taking place within the ruling class as well as between the various Saudi political blocs. This is what we will try to review in the following pages:

The Beginnings

The author begins with the period between the late forties and the early fifties, this being the period which witnessed the emergence of new social forces which the country did not know before on the political scene, the outbreak of unprecedented social conflicts that are still evolving, and the first demands made by the working class.

The year 1945 saw the first strike by workers of the American ARAMCO oil exploration company, who basically constituted an imported workforce, in support of demand for certain work rights. This has led to other strikes in the company after procrastination by the management and its rejection of the striking workers' demands. This has influenced the Saudi government's action in October 1974 when it issued the labor law which defined a working week as 6 days and a working day as 8 hours in every establishment in which the number of employed workers is more than 10.

The labor movement had since expanded its activity. The ARAMCO workers set up a committee in 1952 which was tantamount to a trade union. Through the committee they demanded the right to trade union organization, increasing wages, putting an end to racial discrimination, and providing new housing etc. This is in addition to a request to adopt the Arabic language in [company] schools. But the management's rejection of these demands, with the support of a special royal commission, led to another strike by the Arab workers in ARAMCO from 17 October 1953 to November of the same year. As a result, Saudi citizens in the eastern region proclaimed their sympathy with the strikers because of what the author describes as "the negative and aggressive attitude of the Americans and their heritage and way of life."

The First Results

The strike, the author says, resulted in most of the workers' demands being met. But the more serious result of the strike and of other labor movements was that the Eastern Province became the natural center for popular movements, according to the author.

With the growth of the anti-imperialist movement in the Arab homeland, as a result of revolutionary events in Egypt, the year 1956 witnessed the first popular movement in the Eastern Province. During a visit by King Sa'ud to Dhahran he was met by an anti-imperialist demonstration carrying anti-imperialist slogans demanding the evacuation of the U.S. base. At the same time he was handed a petition containing demands by ARAMCO workers.

The author points out that Sa'ud's reaction was to issue a decree banning all strikes and demonstrations with a maximum penalty of 3 years imprisonment for violators. This was followed by campaigns of arrest and torture of active workers. Consequently, the central committee for Arab workers declared a general strike.

In this regard the author points to a number of political demands that were raised by workers whom he described as the enlightened vanguard workers. These demands, for example, included: establishing a constitution, allowing the establishment of political parties and national organizations, legalizing trade unions, abolishing royal decree banning strikes, halting ARAMCO interference in the country's domestic affairs, and releasing detainees. Naturally, demands of this kind can only be submitted by Saudi workers. The author, however, stresses that "it is unlikely that the workers masses in al-Hasa had then reached a proletariat and political consciousness that would qualify them to defend such demands." But what is strange is that the author attributes the labor movement that took place during that period to what he calls the "Saudi proletariat," adding that "the labor strikes in 1956 represented the last major movement by the Saudi proletariat from the fifties to the seventies."

At the same time all the documents he cites in this regard indicate that the Arab workers were the backbone of the strikes although active Saudi cadres, such as Nasir al-Sa'id, leader of the Union of the Arabian Peninsula People, later participated with them or led them.

Secret Organizations

In his discussion regarding the birth of secret opposition organizations the author says: The first group set up as a result of the 1953 labor strike was the National Reform Front which was established by Saudi young men from the armed forces and ARAMCO employees who were fairly educated.

Objectives of the front were defined as follows:

1—Total liberation of the country from imperialist hegemony and from economic domination by ARAMCO and other companies.

2—Adoption of a constitution that would ensure parliamentary elections, guarantee the right to publish and to assemble, legalize parties and trade unions, and guarantee the freedom to demonstrate and strike.

3—Development of the national industry etc.

4—Reconsideration of agreements concluded with the other oil companies and amending them with a view to insuring the right to exploit the country's wealth in a manner that would achieve social and economic progress.

6—Combatting illiteracy, establishing schools for girls, and expanding higher and vocational education.

The Front viewed its activities as part of the liberation struggle in which the Arab peoples are engaged against imperialism and for the sake of cooperation and unity on democratic basis. It also called for pursuing the policy of positive neutrality and peaceful coexistence.

The Saudi authorities' reaction to this was the arrest of a number of the Front's members, including one of its leading figures, namely Lieutenant 'Abd al-Rahman al-Shamrani who was later executed. This led to moving the Front's activities abroad, particularly to Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon.

The author points out that the newspapers AL-FAJR AL-JADID and AKHBAR AL-DHAHRAN have played a prominent role in opposing the government, which has led to the closure of the first paper, after arresting its publisher and chief editor, and imprisoning the chief editor of the second.

The author attributes the emergence and crystallization of the opposition to the spread of corruption among the ruling class, rampant bribery, and illegal monetary transactions by members of the royal family and provincial governors. For example, the governor of the Eastern Province used his power in order to force foreign banks to sell him foreign currency at the official rate of exchange (3.75 rials to \$1) and then sold the dollar on the black market for 6 rials or more.

Furthermore, the use of slaves had been on the increase as a result of the tremendous increase in the oil income of the ruling class and corruption among religious clerics. All this was evident in flagrant luxury which aroused resentment among the public and even among some of the ulemas who are keen on preserving the Wahhabi tradition and who regard the adoption of "modernism," albeit superficial, and new ways of life as a rejected "heresy," according to the author.

For this reason the government and clerics, in an attempt to oppose new ideas, resorted to a proven weapon, namely religious fanaticism. In April 1955 King Sa'ud issued a decree recalling all Saudi students studying abroad and divesting those who fail to return of Saudi citizenship, with the exception of those who are studying engineering, law, and medicine. This followed the increase of enlightened movements which peaked in 1956 when for the first time in the history of Najd an organization of school students was established which

called for dissolution of the morality committee which was established in the twenties. It also called for standardizing school curricula along the lines of those of Egypt and Syria and establishing higher education institutes in the country.

On another level the author points out that as Al Sa'ud drew a conclusion from the 1952 revolution in Egypt that a certain danger to the regime lies in revolutionary ideas in the regular army, particularly among officers who are influenced by ideas opposed to imperialism and to monarchy, the existence of the Muslim Brotherhood organization was maintained on the ground that it is the army's fundamental strength because of its religious nature and loyalty to the royal family.

The Second Stage

The author reveals further secrets of the opposition movement in the sixties and early seventies which was embodied in two principal organizations. The first was the al-Ahrar group under the leadership of Amir Talal, a prominent royal family member, who on 23 October 1962 announced the formation of the Arab Liberation Front and published its program in Beirut in which he called for the establishment of a democratic system in Saudi Arabia and reviewing the oil concession agreements, etc. Amir Talal emphasized that he is struggling for Arab unity and against imperialist alliances and military bases.

The second organization that was formed almost at the same time was another opposition group under the name of the Union of the Sons of the Arabian Peninsula, which later became Union of the People of the Arabian Peninsula. It was led by Nasir al-Sa'id, the former labor leader in ARAMCO. In a broadcast beamed from Cairo the organization called for the liquidation of the Saudi monarchist regime and the establishment of a national constituent assembly representing all the people's factions.

The organization established a higher command to operate in Saudi Arabia after its leadership had moved from Cairo to Yemen following the success of the Yemeni revolution.

The author says that the Talal group (liberal feudalists and capitalist bourgeoisie) and the Nasir al-Sa'id group (the middle class factions) were different in their social composition, political aspirations, and methods of struggle. They used to attack one another.

As a result, the author says, the National Liberation Front (the old front) sought to unify the opposition ranks and in December 1962 it was able to join ranks with the Arab Liberation Front under the name of the National Arab Liberation Front. Talal was elected the Front's secretary general. The Front's program was no different from the general demands of the Saudi national opposition movement.

But Amir Talal's group soon withdrew from the Front, in less than a year since the unification and the National Liberation Front went back to its former position.

It appears from the authors' discussion that this stand by the Talal group was due to its relationship with late President Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir, particularly after Yemeni radio broadcasts called for the "liquidation of all members of the Saudi family without exception." And before another year had passed the "free princes" clique dispersed and its activities came to an end after Talal's return to Riyadh and his brother's return there before him in early 1964.

Yet the National Liberation Front and the Union of the People of the Arabian Peninsula continued to operate clandestinely in Saudi Arabia. This is in addition to other organizations such as the al-Najdi Revolutionary Party and the Pan-Arab Democratic Front which consisted of former Nasirites and Ba'thists, although the activities of these forces were outside the kingdom.

Between 1962 and 1964 the country witnessed various labor unrest. ARAMCO workers defied the 1965 decree banning all kinds of labor unions and associations when they put up collective demands to the complaints office which comes under the council of ministers, thereby showing some organization on their part.

The author describes these activities as not being of populist nature, saying that even up to early 1967 there were no signs that the Saudi regime was exposed to real danger from the clandestine opposition, although the Saudi government from time to time would announce the arrest of individuals on charge of carrying out "subversive actions" or "belonging to secret organizations hostile to the regime." Apparently the attempt that really threatened the regime was the move in mid 1969 by a large number of officers the majority of whom were from the air force.

It is understood from several sources, according to the author, that the American CIA contributed to exposing the revolutionary officers.

Quoting a statement issued by "Union of the Arabian Peninsula People," the author says that among those arrested in this incident was Brigadier General Dawud al-Rumi, commander of Dhahran base, and Sa'id al-'Umari, commander of Dhahran garrison, both of whom died during torture. The National Liberation Front said that 40 accused were executed in August of the same year.

The author believes that newspaper reports about several coup attempts between November 1969 and July 1970 were part of the propaganda by the Saudi authorities designed to justify punishing political prisoners who in 1973 totaled about 2,000, according to the author's information.

The Third Stage

The period that followed the 1973 war [with Israel] and the assassination of King Faysal by his U.S.-educated nephew is considered to be the third stage in the Saudi nationalist opposition movement in that 1975 witnessed the establishment of the Saudi Communist Party and the emergence of blocs and organizations hostile to the regime from "purely Islamic" positions. These were the groups that led to what the author calls popular movements in the fall of 1979 (the incident of the occupation of the Holy Mosque) which occurred in tense atmospheres. This drove the Saudi authorities to launch a wide campaign of arrests among the air force, tank, and infantry officers and even princes of the royal family suspected of having radical tendencies.

The author reveals that yet another campaign of arrests took place after a large number of leaflets were distributed, some calling for the return to "adherence" to Islamic tenets and others for overthrowing "the agent tyrant rulers." Yet other leaflets called for expelling all foreigners from the kingdom.

The Holy Mosque Incident

In mid November disturbances against the government in Hejaz began when small armed squads of rebels attacked some villages and took up positions on secondary roads near Medina. This was the rebellion staged by branches of the Qahtan, 'Utaybah, and Yamani tribes whose lands were seized by the royal family.

The author estimates the total number of rebels to be 3,500. While the government forces repelled the rebels' attack on the city and about 20 persons were killed, the rebels on the first day of the beginning of the 15th hegira century, were able to capture the Holy Mosque. The Organization of the Islamic Revolutionaries Movement in the Arabian Peninsula, which was unknown then, announced that it was leading the uprising. Muhammad al-Qahtani, the revolutionaries' spiritual leader, proclaimed himself to be the awaited Mahdi. He said that the movement's objective was to "purify Islam" and "liberate the country from the clique of infidels, the royal family and the mercenary men of religion whose only concern was to stick to their jobs and privileges."

The movement's political leader was Juhayman al-'Utaybah who made a speech through loudspeakers on the mosque's roof condemning the "hypocrisy" of the government which on the one hand proclaimed that it is the center of the True Religion in the world while on the other supported "injustice, corruption, and bribery."

The rebels set conditions to negotiations with the royal family, such as removing senior princes from their posts, serious reconsideration of the policy of oil extraction and marketing, return to the laws of "pure" Islam, and expulsion of all foreign military experts from the country. The Saudi authorities reacted by suppressing the

uprising with the use of artillery, aircraft, and tear gas bombs. The resistance lasted about 2 weeks during which hundreds were killed, including Muhammad al-Qahtani, while Juhayman al-'Utaybah and 62 of his followers were executed on 9 January 1980. These included Egyptians, Yemenis, Kuwaitis, and other Arabs.

The author reveals yet another dimension of the Holy Mosque incident, which was the incitement of the Shiites who are influenced by Iranian propaganda in the Eastern Region and whose number total 300,000 to 350,000. The Shiites celebrated the day of Ashura [mourning] contrary to the government ban on such celebration. This led to a clash between the marchers carrying Khomeyni's picture and the National Guard and to an attack on military barracks. The disturbances continued for 3 days during which slogans hostile to the king were raised and leaflets were distributed calling for the overthrow of the tyrant regime and the establishment of a republic.

Reactionary Measures

The author points out that the confusion that prevailed in the royal family ranks as a result of these movements prompted it to react by dismissing some senior officers, recalling students studying abroad, closing beauty parlors, women's beauty shops, and female clubs, and dismissing female television announcers with the aim of placating the "ultra fanatic" religious ulemas. The then Crown Prince Fahd Ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz announced that a "basic law" was being drafted to appoint a consultative council but this was never put into effect.

On the other hand Saudi security organs were expanded and strengthened. Consultants sent by the CIA and the West German and French intelligence played a major role in this regard.

The author says: A period of calm prevailed in the country and political struggle was no longer as acute as it used to be in that Saudi and U.S. propaganda sought to create the impression that the regime was stable. With the transfer of power to Crown Prince Fahd in mid 1982 nobody expected radical changes to take place in Saudi Arabia under the new king. And indeed no changes of this kind took place.

13305

SUDAN

Interior Minister Discusses Domestic, Foreign Policies

45040041a Kuwait AL-QABAS 22 Dec 87 p 4

[Article by 'Abbas Nazim]

[Text] The Sudanese deputy prime minister and minister of the interior, Mr Ahmad al-Husayn, stated that he had conveyed the greetings of the chairman of the council of head of state and prime minister in the Sudan to his

highness the emir of the country and chairman of the council of ministers for Kuwait's stand, government and people, alongside the Sudan. He said that the Ethiopian president and al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, the prime minister of the Sudan, would meet in Addis Ababa next month to eliminate the vestiges of the past, and added that the Sudanese government has prevented the entry of Iranian publications, brochures and recordings into the Sudan because they attack brother [Arabs].

This appeared in a special meeting which AL-QABAS carried out with the Sudanese official. Here is its text:

[Question] You have been honored by a meeting with his highness the emir of the country and his highness the crown prince. What took place in these two meetings?

[Answer] I conveyed the greetings of the chairman of the Sudanese council of head of state, Mr Muhammad al-Mirghani, and the prime minister, al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, and the greetings of the Sudanese people, and by honorable initiative of his highness he expressed his extreme anxiety over what was going on in the Sudan, as well as his extreme interest. I stated the conditions there to his highness and the fact is that his highness had reflected Kuwait's support in heart and essence with the Sudan and had me bear his greetings and those of the Kuwaiti people to Mr al-Mirghani, Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi and the Sudanese people. I was also honored by a meeting with his highness the crown prince and the prime minister, Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah al-Salim al-Sabah, and we held a discussion together with respect to things concerning the affairs of the two countries and the Arab nation, and in particular what is going on in the Sudanese stage. His highness expressed clear interest in what is going on there; I explained to his highness the circumstances and conditions prevailing in the Sudan, and he expressed a good spirit and total readiness to stand alongside the Sudanese people.

These positions on the part of his highness the emir and his highness the crown prince are not new, because relations between our two countries are distinctive and have always been a natural fruit of the stand of his highness the emir and his highness the crown prince on the side of brothers. I can say that Kuwait is the first Arab country to carry out projects in the south of the Sudan and it has offices and an actual presence in the south. The ambassador of Kuwait in the Sudan, Dr 'Abdallah al-Sari', has spent 8 years in the south of the Sudan and has been nicknamed " 'Abdallah Juba," in reference to the capital of the Southern Region.

Discussions

[Question] What is the agenda of the discussions between you and the minister of the interior, Mr Nawwaf al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah?

[Answer] We as the people responsible for security in these two fraternal countries must reach mutual understanding on matters concerning the two ministries in Kuwait and the Sudan, since the Sudan's security is an integral part of that of the Arab region as a whole. We discussed means for supporting bilateral cooperation between us and Kuwait's ongoing support for the Sudanese Ministry of the Interior, and also the exchange of expertise and information, and we held a discussion concerning the bases for supporting Arab security as a whole, with the interior minister, Shaykh Nawwaf al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, and with the deputy minister, Maj Gen Yusuf Badr al-Kharrafi, and senior officials in the Kuwaiti Ministry of the Interior.

Numayri Will Not Return to the Political Arena

[Question] Does the former president, Ja'far Numayri, still have cassette tapes in which he is attacking the elected government in the Sudan?

[Answer] The deposed Numayri does not dream of returning again to the Sudan and cannot think of returning to the arena of the political stage, because we are still suffering from the effects left by his defunct era; and the means of political action in the Sudan for reaching power are the Sudanese people, through elections. Therefore I can assert that Numayri has no cassette tapes in the Sudan at the present time.

Publications

[Question] It has been repeatedly said that Iran is exploiting religious extremism in the Sudan and is feeding factional strife there. What is the validity of this statement?

[Answer] In the past period we discovered Iranian publications, printings and recordings attacking fraternal Arab countries and have prohibited the entry of all these Iranian publications and recordings into the Sudan, because the Sudan in its policy relies on good neighborliness and we do not allow any activities on Sudanese territory which will be defamatory to neighbors, not to mention brothers, nor do we allow any activity which is aimed at polarization or anything else.

[Question] Are the courts still trying the principal figures of the previous regime?

[Answer] According to my knowledge, some statements are still being filed accusing the principal figures of the previous regime, and these declarations accuse them of specific crimes. These do not include their having worked with the deposed regime. Of course, we are a democratic regime and the jurisdiction for any declaration or charge against anyone anywhere belongs to the judiciary authority, an authority which is totally independent of the executive authority. Therefore, whether the courts proceed or not is something which is of concern to the judiciary authority.

[Question] The hearts of some people who took part in the Sudanese people's upheaval with you are still with you, but their swords are against you. How do you deal with these people?

[Answer] At the outset we must realize that the Sudanese people and the Sudanese man in the street are the government and the basis of appraisals to a large extent, in the sense that what is going on on the political stage in all directions, the opposition or the government, is subject to the evaluation of the Sudanese people. Anyone who tries to raise side issues and pursues narrow party conduct through which he seeks material gain will receive his punishment from the people, and anyone who carries out a constructive act for the benefit of the Sudanese people, devoid of ulterior motives and caprice, will receive support and backing. That is clear from the effort to interpret Sudanese public opinion, and ultimately the coming elections will themselves be the determinant.

A False Allegation

[Question] The leader of the rebels, Garang, has alleged that some units of the Sudanese army have joined him. Is such news upsetting the stability of the Sudan?

[Answer] Garang's allegation has no basis in truth at all. The Sudanese people are well aware of the dimensions of the mutiny, who is behind it and who is benefiting from it.

Dissension

[Question] Are some of Garang's agents working as a fifth column in the Sudan to provoke dissension?

[Answer] There actually is no disturbance or dissension being stirred up by any faction that we could call a "fifth column," because the eyes of security are vigilant, especially in such circumstances, in calculating all new things that might arise. That is the basic job assigned to the Sudanese security agencies.

[Question] What has Egyptian mediation between you and Ethiopia achieved for you?

[Answer] I would like to reveal a new item of information, since 2 days before my coming to Kuwait the Sudanese and Ethiopian parties agreed to the holding of a meeting between al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, the prime minister of the Sudan, and Mengistu Haile-Mariam, the president of Ethiopia, next month in Addis Ababa. This meeting will aim to affirm good neighborliness and eliminate misunderstanding and the vestiges of the past.

[Question] Do you believe that the rebels will be surrounded if an Ethiopian-Sudanese agreement takes place?

[Answer] We are primarily aiming at good relations with Ethiopia.

My First Visit

[Question] Upon concluding your visit to Kuwait, what is your next stop?

[Answer] I will go to the Republic of Iraq today on an official visit. After that I will return to the Sudan. This is my first visit to Kuwait and also my first visit to the Gulf area.

11887

General Interviewed on Kurmuk Battle

45040046d Dubayy AL-BAYAN in Arabic 2 Jan 88 p 14

[Interview with Maj Gen Zayn-al-'Abdin Qismallah, by Muhammad Nurani: al-Damazin, date not given]

[Excerpts] When we deplaned from the military aircraft that transported us from Khartoum to al-Damazin, we were greeted with raucous shouts, as hoarse as war cries. They were coming from the throats of dusty soldiers with disheveled hair, shouldering operational, if ancient, guns.

They were happy about Khartoum's immediate (and unusual) interest in the incident of the occupation of Kurmuk and about the inspection visits that Ahmad al-Mirghani, Lt Gen Fawzi Ahmad al-Fadil, and a large number of senior officers had made to the operations areas.

Their joy in the victory they had achieved in regaining Kurmuk shone in their eyes and flashed out with utter pride and confidence.

It was clear that the victory they had achieved had been neither easy nor foreordained, given such limited resources.

How did it happen? What was its military, political, and informational impact. Maj Gen Zayn-al-'Abdin will answer AL-BAYAN's questions.

[Question] Excuse me if I am a bit skeptical. The battle, as you described it, the nature of the rebels' armaments, and their concentration atop the mountain—all this gives me a terrible impression of our losses. Did the air force decide the situation?

[Answer] The fact is that heavy shelling from airplanes is what inflicted great losses upon the rebels. But it is also the fact—and you can trust me fully—that losses by our forces were by all measures below the minimum, especially if we take into account that the rebels were concentrated on the top of the mountain, which is lofty and overlooks the entire area, and that this position enabled them to ward off our forces. But with the information we had, and with our soldiers' faith in the country against that agent, they plunged into—I do not say it was a desperate suicide operation, but I say that they undertook a brave operation that from the historical perspective reflects their forefathers and the great battles which the Sudanese army entered at Karari and elsewhere.

Foreign Support Of The Rebels

[Question] Reports have pointed to the existence of foreign military intervention that helped the Kurmuk occupation operation. Is there firm evidence of this?

[Answer] Foreign participation was clear in Kurmuk and Qaysan. During the fierce battles, our soldiers saw some Ethiopians and Cubans with the naked eye.

[Question] Since you captured a number of Garang's soldiers, there must certainly be a number of these foreign participants among the prisoners.

[Answer] It was clear that the Ethiopians and Cubans were pushing Garang's soldiers into the front ranks, while they themselves provided them with ammunition and technical directives. The weapons that were captured were very advanced, even for the Ethiopian army.

The strike was calculated with modern equipment and extreme precision. As soon as shots were fired by our artillery, very advanced devices located the source of the sound and the position of the artillery and directed a strike at it.

It was also clear that the instructions required Ethiopian and Cuban casualties to be taken into Ethiopia, so as not to fall prisoner to our forces.

One incident our soldiers observed while they were surrounding one of the rebels' concentrations: there was a Cuban technician with them, and when he felt that he would be captured by our soldiers, he shot himself, and his body was immediately dragged into Ethiopian territory.

The Fifth Column

[Question] What about the fifth column to which you referred in a previous press conference?

[Answer] I am refraining from any details in order to protect the judicial measures dealing with the case of these men. However, I will say with confidence that we have grabbed the head of the snake. I regret to say that they are Sudanese citizens. At first we refused to believe that Sudanese—and under such circumstances—would form an espionage cell for the rebels, for we as a people are renowned for unflinching morals and ideals in such situations and circumstances. However, after careful observation and follow-up, we became convinced that all information about our movements and patrols around

the Roseires Dam and important areas and all assignments were eventually reaching the rebels. At 2:30 pm we might make a decision to order a company to head in a certain direction in the operations area, and at 3:30 the rebel radio would be broadcasting what we had decided. We were greatly damaged by the leakage of information about us, until God enabled us to uncover the group that was acting as a fifth column.

[Question] Ascertaining the conspiracy of those accused of this weighty charge—and news of its discovery has caused an angry reaction whose wake may extend even after they are punished—how did this operation take place?

[Answer] We followed the head of the cell, opened the drawer of his desk, and discovered a document. It was photographed and returned to its place, and the drawer was locked. Then we followed his movements. When we became certain of all the information and evidence, we arrested him and his colleagues. He denied the existence of the document, but confessed when the photograph of it was produced. We have handed him over to the relevant authorities.

12937

Security Report Targets Islamic Front
 45040046b Khartoum AL-RAYAH in Arabic
 26 Dec 87 p 3

[Text] Elements hostile to the NIF have for some time been leading feverish activity through all official agencies. The aim has been to portray the NIF as democracy's number-one enemy, to sow dissension between it and the ruling parties, and to implement a plan aimed finally at shackling the front's movement in an effort to destroy it.

The security apparatuses in the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and the National Ummah Party have sown this slander. They surreptitiously introduced into an official security agency the outline of a report they had prepared; elements of the Ba'th and Ummah parties in that agency accepted it and drafted from it a report that was actually submitted to the agencies of the state.

AL-RAYAH has obtained the report in question. We review part of it here.

The report begins with what it entitles, "Forms of Security Threats." The first element of these forms is the political element. The report says: "Political activity has begun to take a dangerous turn because of the perspective of the political opposition to the government. In this regard the opposition has exploited inherited problems and based itself on the idea of 'the need for continued tension at various points.' It relies on:

- 1. The democratic idea of freedom (the fancy form).
- 2. Freedom of expression through all media.
- 3. Maximum exploitation of the economic problem.
- 4. Kindling the spirit of hostility through religious and racial feelings.

This has resulted in an extensive security threat, embodied in:

- a. Continual strikes by trade unions and the student movement.
- b. Seizure and occupation of public buildings.
- c. Demonstrations and parades.
- d. Political exploitation of events affecting security.

The report continues: "Preeminence in this area goes to the NIF. It has exploited all opportunities and gone beyond all customary limits to weaken the government and work forcefully toward allowing no opportunity for political success. This has been a factor affecting the security of the country.

"The NIF has taken advantage of the inherited problem which was exaggerated until it reached alarming proportions. To accomplish this, the Front used all available pulpits, and relied on the great momentum based upon its extensive control of:

- 1. Financial agencies (the Islamic banks and institutions),
- 2. Information media (more than five daily newspapers).

"One can say that the failure of national-unity government negotiations due to NIF obstinacy in its positions has led the NIF to move entirely toward placing the two coalition parties face to face with a historical test by means of organized and deliberate opposition, in an attempt to show the coalition's weakness and the bad choice the two coalition parties made instead of a national-unity government."

We want the reader to notice the partisan language in the wording of the official report and the talk about the Islamic institutions and banks and the front's information media and newspapers. We want to draw the reader's attention to the seriousness of the talk at the beginning of this paragraph about "the fancy form" of freedom and democracy and about "freedom of expression through all media" (items 1 and 2). For in a democracy expression is one of the fundamental principles that can be disparaged only by someone who looks at it from a narrowly partisan perspective that sees free expression as tending to benefit one particular party and who therefore feels uneasy about it.

The report goes on to specify "numerous opportunities" the NIF has found to implement its designs. These are summed up under four headings. It goes on to say that the prime minister's speech in the face of the government's course supporting agreement with the IMF "led the front to increased mobilization within its cadres, in the following ways:

- 1. It held a number of meetings at the capital and provincial secretariat level to mobilize members and intensify demonstrations.
- 2. It held a number of meetings with leaders of students and the Islamic faction at the universities, higher educational institutes, and cultural unions.
- 3. The so-called "people's and trade-union solidarity parade" (similar to the "march of a million") marched to show muscle before the authorities.
- 4. The front considered the Bank of the Sudan's circular on 'compensatory return' to be religious apostasy and exploited it as a media item against the government."

Continuing the partisan probe into the activity of the NIF, the report says in Paragraph 7:

"The incident of the cancellation of the "Week of the [1973 Suez Canal] Crossing Festival" (this had been advocated by the [NIF]-affiliated Namariq organization) was exploited in a desperate attempt to sow discord between the government and the brother country, Egypt. The target was the National Ummah Party."

The reader has probably not missed the partisan interference in the wording of the official report, expressed in such words as "a desperate attempt," and "the target was the National Ummah Party."

The report goes on to comment on its previously mentioned points. We read in the comment:

"1. The NIF's continual escalation, with general mobilization and the proclamation of jihad [holy war], and the reactions expected from the remaining parties under current circumstances have created extreme security complications."

The report then describes the factors representing the "danger" that results from the "complicated" situation the NIF has created. It summarizes these factors under three headings, the second of which is as follows: "The impact of current happenings in the political arena upon the country's military, which is now following what is taking place on the home front, at the same time as it confronts increased danger from the resources of the rebellion movement (as happened at Kurmuk). This may warrant possible non-neutrality by the military toward the outcome of events, if these develop in a more violent manner, and may give the military an excuse to intervene, as happened during the uprising."

In its discussion of "religious activity," the report says in Paragraph 4: "The Islamic Call Organization has recently begun to work in obvious coordination with the NIF leadership. For example, a delegation from the Islamic Call Organization recently traveled with Dr al-Turabi to Kordofan to inaugurate projects in areas 'locked-up' for the Ummah Party and thereby win the citizens over to the NIF's side. This looks like complete coordination in positions."

The reader perhaps realizes that Dr al-Turabi's trip to Kordofan included four districts, only one of which belongs to the Ummah Party (Dr Fadlallah 'Ali Fadl's district). Another belongs to the [Democratic] Unionist Party, and two belong to the NIF (the districts of Ibn 'Umar Muhammad Ahmad and Shaykh al-Bakri).

The bias and fabrication here are evident: neither did a delegation from the organization accompany Dr al-Turabi, nor are the districts "locked-up" for the Ummah Party.

Finally, the report charged with hatred for the NIF makes many recommendations. We will present only three of them here. They occur in the following order:

- 1. Amendment of the emergency ordinance and reapplication of the provision for preventive detention, together with strict regulations, so that exceptional measures can be taken under these critical circumstances.
- 2. Amendment of the law governing newspapers and printed matter to allow the imposition of administrative censorship on any information published that affects the security of the country.
- 3. Passage of a law to regulate political party activity in such a way that authorities will be informed about the sources of financing and party membership, so that the phenomenon of single individual- [controlled] parties will not be widespread as it is now."

In conclusion, we leave the matter before the generous reader. Let him observe the partisan bias in the report. Let him observe its distance from the objectivity, even in language, with which security reports are usually worded. Such reports surreptitiously introduced by political party apparatuses to mislead the legitimate government are a serious matter, for they are pushing the government to turn toward means that could destroy the Sudan's newborn democracy.

12937

SYRIA

Israeli Analysis Assesses Military Policy, Weaknesses

44230006a Tel Aviv BAMAHAHE in Hebrew
25 Nov 87 pp 22-23

[Article by Haym A. Ravyv]

[Text] al-Asad to his officers: "I have absolutely no money."

Economic difficulties have forced Syria to undertake unprecedented cuts in its military budget. The range of training has been reduced and tens of thousands of conscripts have been discharged from the army. Ten years ago, al-Sadat came to the conclusion that there was

no escape from the chronic economic crisis gripping Egypt except by setting out on the path to peace. Syria still has not arrived at this conclusion.

The Israeli and world press have recently featured exaggerated descriptions of the extent of the budget cuts that President al-Asad has decreed for the Syrian army because of his country's economic distress. The import of these articles was to create the impression that the regime in Syria has hoisted the flag of social-economic reform and run down for good the flag of the army and war. The impression was created that the economic crisis in Syria is a chronic one, as a result of which the government is liable to be dragged in the course of time to peace with Israel.

The economic crisis in Syria began in 1982 and reached a peak in the middle of 1986. There were several reasons for it: a drastic reduction in Arab financial assistance; a considerable drop in the level of funds brought home by Syrians working in the Gulf states because of the economic slump there; years of drought; incompetent management by the government bureaucracy.

Syria has natural resources that are helping it to solve the economic problems. It holds oil in commercial quantities. The problem is the lack of skill in management and the bureaucracy, and corruption in the government. The press lashes out all the time against the sin of failure to exploit the natural assets. For his part, al-Asad is making unceasing efforts to eradicate corruption in the ministries.

At first, the government, despite the continuing economic crisis, avoided cutting into the military—and even looked to expand and strengthen it. Operation Peace for Galilee and the quest for strategic parity (that began with the withdrawal of Egypt from the Arab confrontationist circle) led to acceleration of the process of strengthening the Syrian army both in manpower and materiel.

Between 1980 and 1984, the relative share of the defense budget in Syria gradually increased and this growth reflected its ambition to attain strategic parity. But in the last 3 years, since 1984, there has been a steady drop in the military budget in real terms. In fiscal year 1986-1987, the reduction in the budget reached an unprecedented level of 15 percent, a fact that is an indication of the decline of the economic situation in Syria.

Among the factors that led al-Asad to change directions and decide to slash military expenditures, the dramatic turnabout that began last year in the Soviet Union's relations with Syria must be counted as well. This reversal—part of a new Soviet global policy under the leadership of Gorbachev—manifests itself in Soviet unwillingness to go the final mile on behalf of the Syrians, in a refusal to respond to their requests for

supplying modern equipment, and also in an attempt to put pressure on them to adopt a flexible policy in the inter-Arab arena and in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

It must be noted that in the last 4 years, there has been a considerable reduction in the quantities of military equipment arriving in Syria from the Soviet Union. The reason for this is not only Russian considerations on the political-strategic level (the desire to become an integral part in the political process of the Middle East, the formation of which the United States is diligently pursuing), but also economic assessments. The Soviet Union is in a process of drastic economic reforms, and it seems that against this background, Moscow began to doubt the benefits of massive additional investments of hardware in a country whose economic condition obliges it in any event to cut back and not expand its military force.

This does not mean that the Soviets are not supplying Syria any weapons at all. Some months ago, the Syrians received the state-of-the-art plane, the "MIG-29." But, as previously stated, not all the Syrian demands are being satisfied, especially in the area of strategic weapons—for example, long-range missiles more advanced than those now in Syrian hands. As mentioned, Syria now recognizes the need to slow the rate of its military buildup.

It seems that the senior officers have been sympathetic to the steps taken, and see them as a necessity not to be condemned. The army staff has been a witness to the results of the effort the government is making to ease the economic burden on the citizen; interruptions of electrical service in the cities have declined significantly; in the markets it is now possible to find that the basic necessities and wages of workers in the public sector (including the army) have risen some 25 percent.

Must we view the care al-Asad is lavishing on the civilian sector as an expression of a change in Syria's national priorities? Implicit in the premise of the question, perhaps, is some wishful thinking. More realistic is the assessment that this is just a slowing in the rate of the military build-up. In an interview that the Syrian President granted not long ago to the WASHINGTON POST and NEWSWEEK, he does admit the existence of economic difficulties but claims that these problems do not worry him and will pass.

At the beginning of the 1980's, the Syrian army "sucked up" more and more internal resources—at the expense of the population's standard of living and the welfare of the individual. Public services deteriorated, real wages declined, and the markets suffered a serious lack of essential goods. The first signs of bitterness and anger against the regime appeared. The administration's attempt to convince the nation of the need to suffer for the purpose of the confrontation with Israel did not do well. The leaders understood that if the situation were to

continue as it was or grow worse—their control was liable to be undermined. al-Asad decided to make things better for the people even at the expense of the military sector.

He adopted a new economic policy (the purging of the government 2 weeks ago is part of the effort made in Syria in the last 2 years to improve the efficiency of the agencies carrying it out). The policy did not pass over the army this time. Cuts and economy measures imposed on it left no doubt of al-Asad's intentions to tighten the belt. So, for example, training has been sharply curtailed. Conscripts whose discharge was held up at first by order (and who, during the period of delay, were paid a higher salary as though they were reservists)—were released. This was a matter of many tens of thousands of soldiers.

But it has become clear that all these cuts are limited and are falling only on the ground forces. The professional corps—the air force and navy—were not affected, and even more resources have been invested in them. The government believes that these branches are still inferior in quality and accordingly that any cuts to them are liable to be fatal. In fact, the overall size of the Syrian army has not undergone any change. Al-Asad has not given up a single full combat unit or even a service unit. He also has not reduced stocks of materiel.

As noted, the main change is some limited economic measures taken in a number of units. Here is the proper place to note that since Operation Peace for Galilee, the Syrian army has grown considerably, so that the government has permitted itself to write off a "slice," even a significant one, within the land forces. But, as said before, this compensating cut applies only to the operations of some of the regiments and not to the army as a whole.

The cuts have not undermined the military and apparently have had no serious implications for the standard of performance of the soldier and officer in the Syrian army.

Syria still sees achieving strategic parity with Israel as a goal toward which it must strive. Syria has not changed its course. The Israeli threat is still its first concern. In its eyes, the economy is an important foundation stone that must be well laid, without weakening the army, primarily in the long term. Thus, the army of Syria is able today to make military moves, even offensive ones, despite the cuts. Until a year and a half ago, Syria was galloping towards war but stumbled along the way against an economic barrier. What Syria is doing now is attempting to cross that obstacle in order to continue on its way. Syria does not see the need to choose another path—the path of peace—as Egypt did 10 years ago.

In general, one cannot compare Syria and Egypt in this context. Al-Asad's regime in Syria, unlike that of Sadat-Mubarak in Egypt, has not reached the conclusion that there is no escape from the economic crisis except by setting out on the road to peace. Syria perhaps does not reject a political solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict, but up to now that fact

has not brought any real change in its policy. Unlike Egypt, Syria did not get a taste of victory (in the Yom Kippur War) and so its pride remains wounded and it won't allow itself the luxury of such a dramatic move. The regime in Syria, unlike that in Egypt, is bound to a rigid party ideology at the center of which is the pretension of carrying the flag of the struggle into Israel and becoming the locus of power in the region. As well, Syria's international orientation—its alliance with the Soviet Union and radical states such as Libya and Iran—weighs against the likelihood, if any there is, that it will break away from its traditional course.

Syria recognizes today that it is unable to meet the timetable it set for attaining strategic parity with Israel. One of the practical consequences of this recognition: new flexibility in Syria's foreign policy. But this flexibility applies only to the sphere of inter-Arab relations and finds no expression with respect to the conflict with Israel.

[Box p 23]

Confusion After the Summit

In the presidential palace in Damascus, an air of uneasiness and even confusion prevails in the wake of the results of the summit conference in Rabat-Amman. The conference exposed the weakness of the al-Asad regime and highlighted Syria's isolation in the Arab world, a fact easily seen against the background of the seal of approval given the participants there to renew their diplomatic relations with Egypt.

This approval, given without the condition of repudiation of the Camp David agreements, is, in fact, Arab recognition of the peace process Egypt began.

Syria, which on the eve of the conference demanded that the Arab-Israeli conflict be the focus of the discussions, as the central problem of the Arab world, came to the realization that what troubles the Arab states today is not really the conflict with Israel, but the war in the Gulf. As is known, the resolutions of the summit did not tie Jordan's hands on the subject of the political process and King Hussein continues to maintain political freedom of action in this matter.

The significance of this is that Syria's political power as a spoiler or, if you will, its ability to exercise a "veto" in the Arab arena, has declined considerably. About 5 years ago, when it seemed to the Syrians that the summit conference convened at the same time in Rabat-Amman was about to adopt a resolution that would pave the way for Jordan to get involved in the peace process—Syria hastened to dispatch army columns to the border of the Kingdom of Jordan and threaten invasion. Today, it is not just that Syria does not appear as a threat, but that it finds herself compelled to take part in a conference giving, as noted, for all to hear, official approval to the peace process.

The president of Syria, it is clear, is prepared to eat crow, ready to suffer insults to his honor, when it comes to something that seems to him a matter of high national interest; and the Syrian national interest today is to receive money, as much and as quickly as possible, from the Arab oil states, in the hope that it can extricate itself from the economic crisis. But even the whole matter of Arab aid to Syria is up in the air. The Syrian president, as far as can be seen, did not receive explicit assurances on this subject and, in any event, there have been no reports up till now of a decision by the conference to renew aid to the confrontation states according to the institutionalized scale that was set 9 years ago at the Baghdad summit.

The assessment is that the oil states will indeed renew their financial aid to the ailing confrontation states, foremost of which is Syria, but the extent and timing of the aid will be determined at later stages while they play the aid card as a form of pressure and influence or as a whip to prod Syria into walking the straight and narrow.

Will the combination of these three components—internal social-economic straits, continuing isolation in the Arab world, and a feeling that he will not receive the political and military backing he expected from an ally such as the Soviet Union—push al-Asad to have second thoughts on the subject of the Arab-Israeli conflict? That is a possibility. It is an open secret that Syria does not reject a political solution out of hand. Under pressure from the Soviets, Syria often declared, before the summit in Amman, its willingness to take part in an international conference to settle the conflict (true, in a rigid and uncompromising framework that does not take into account, in contrast to the Jordanian approach, the possibility of direct negotiations between the parties under the auspices of the conference). But according to the Syrian view, all negotiations with the enemy must be undertaken not from weakness, but from a position of strength that will afford greater bargaining power and therefore—the perseverance, all through the years, in seeing to the needs of the army, and the efforts made, even now in the shadow of economic distress, to maintain the army's strength and its operational capabilities.

Picture Captions

p 22—More bread, fewer cannons. After years in which the army swallowed up resources at the expense of the population's standard of living, al-Asad is now giving priority to the civilian sector. Basic commodities have again appeared in the markets.

p 23—Budget cutting in the army—selective and falling only on land forces. The air force and navy—not hit.

Nation's Various Oil, Gas Programs Outlined 44040079a Dubayy AL-BAYAN 28 Dec 87 p 12

[Text] Prompted by need to respond to increasing local demand for energy sources and to provide the hard currency necessary to cover foreign imports of goods and means of production, the Syrian Ministry of Oil and Mineral Resources is concentrating in an exceptional fashion on the exploitation of the natural resources latent in the Syrian soil.

The northeastern areas of the country are witnessing intensified activity to produce and refine oil. Occurring in conjunction with this process is unremitting activity to produce natural gas, meet local need for that and export the surplus. A number of gas fields have been discovered in these areas and the presence of a great geological reserve at commercial prices has been confirmed in three main regions, each of which contains a number of fields.

An official source in the Ministry of Oil and Natural Resources has stated that within a very short period test production will begin on one of the most important gas production projects in Syria, which is the plant to treat gas and transport it from the al-Jabsah fields, whose productive capacity comes to 1.7 million cubic meters a day. Work began toward the end of 1983 on two main projects with the aid of a number of foreign companies, especially Bulgarian and Czech companies. Work in the first project was concentrated on completion of the discovery of gas fields, since work bearing on a group of wells which had previously been drilled by the Syrian Oil Company was carried out along with a number of new discovery wells, development wells were drilled, the gas reserves in the gas and oil deposits were evaluated and a study was prepared on various aspects of gas exploitation in Syria.

This project was aimed at meeting the gas plant's requirement, since the gas is produced from the well-heads and transported by lines to four plants and from there is transported to the treatment plant.

The Gas Treatment Project

As for the second project, that includes the construction of a plant to treat natural gas which is produced in the area of the al-Jabsah fields, the construction of an 11-kilometer pipeline from the plant to the al-Khabur river to meet the plant's need for water and the laying of a 477-kilometer pipeline to transport treated gas from the plant to the oil refinery in the city of Hums which is situated in the middle of the country, north of the capital, Damascus. The final work is taking place in this plant, which will soon begin to embark on test production, treating the quantities of gas coming to it from the gathering plants. Its productive capacity will come to 1.7 million cubic meters a day and its basic products will be

distributed in the following form: 1.2 million cubic feet of light treated gas per day, which will supply the nitrogenous fertilizer plant and the Hums refinery when needed, 75 tons of liquid household gas per day which will be transported by tankers to the filling units belonging to the government fuel company, 50 tons a day of separated, clean sulphur, 40 tons of raw untreated gasoline and 90,000 cubic meters of carbon dioxide gas per day. Work is also taking place at the same time on completion of another gas plant in the al-Suwaydiyyah area. That is a special plant for gathering, treating and transferring the gas produced from the al-Hasakah fields, and the rated productive capacity for this plant will come to 660,000 cubic meters a day.

Syria's Inclusion in the International Oil Club

Information drawn from studies the Syrian government bodies and neutral international economic bodies have carried out state that the coming decade of the nineties will bring Syria messages of its inclusion in the club of oil-producing countries.

As regards oil, it is expected that Syrian production in the early nineties will reach a level that will meet local need totally, after which the export stage may begin. In the framework of natural gas, after an American company discovered the presence of a great reserve of that in Syrian territory, the projects on which work is taking place now are aimed as a first stage at producing enough for local demand. After that volumes of gas surplus to need will be provided which it will be necessary to export.

Exporting Syrian Gas

Some foreign countries have become aware of the value of Syrian gas reserves. Turkey for example is trying to benefit from that, since a Turkish economic official recommended the pursuit of discussions with the Syrian government to establish joint projects to exploit Syrian natural gas. One project includes the transmission of Syrian gas in the future to the countries of the European continent through Turkish territory. That subject was one of the main points in the discussions the Turkish prime minister, Turgut Ozal, held during his visit to Damascus last July. It appears that the Syrian capital did not have reservations about the Turkish proposal, but it at the same time aspires to barter the gas for irrigation water, since Turkey has surplus quantities of water following the construction of a dam on the Euphrates River on Turkish territory, which has affected the quantity of water entering Syrian territory via this river.

It is well known that the Turks have a strategic project to bring irrigation water to a number of Arab countries, including Jordan and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, through massive pipes passing over Syrian territory.

11887

TUNISIA

Investment Growth Registers 12.6 Percent Increase

45190022 Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic
2 Jan 88 p 29

[Text] It is estimated in Tunisia that investments in that country will show an increase of 12.6 percent next year reaching 1.8 billion Tunisian dinars. According to official statistics, the volume of investments this year decreased by 10.4 percent from the estimates noted in the budget as a result of the consumption control policy. Investments earmarked for the tourism sector reached 71 million dinars, applied largely to the development of Saharan tourism, since it was decided to add 3,500 beds to the tourist accommodation capacity. As for agricultural investments, around 447 million dinars have been allocated for next year, 122 million of which will be obtained through foreign loans.

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

Economist Discusses Aspects of Dubai's Development

44040091a London AL-HAWADITH 22 Jan 88p 44

[Interview with Economist 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Gharir: "Domestic Banks Play an Important Role in Developing Dubai's Economy!"]

[Text] Economist 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Gharir, one of the important economic academic figures in the Gulf, in Dubai specifically, has a vision of the economic and financial development Dubai has witnessed during the years following the oil upsurge. In the meeting AL-HAWADITH held with him, al-Gharir expressed his views on a group of issues and questions related to the various developments which have occurred in Dubai in the economic, financial and social contexts. AL-HAWADITH asked him:

AL-HAWADITH: Could you talk to us about the economic policy the Emirate of Dubai is pursuing?

'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Gharir: Dubai's reliance on the policy of "free economy" has caused it to receive this good commercial reputation and to grow rapidly. The government does not intervene in trade and business and does not set out any conditions obstructing movement and freedom as far as the affairs of businessmen and people with interests are concerned. Indeed, in reality it facilitates the investment process for investors by eliminating what is known as "bureaucracy," that is, government dealings and procedures, and has provided all its resources in this regard.

As a result of this, over the period of the past 20 years, this great leap forward has occurred in the economy and construction and what you are seeing today is the clear

proof of that. For example, the electricity the al-Gharir center uses today is equal to the electric power that existed in the Emirate of Dubai in 1968.

The features of this great development are to be found. Investment is matched by the provision of services on all levels—electricity, telecommunications, paved roads, the modern airport and its services, Rashid Port and the Jabal 'Ali Port. The latter contains the free zone, which facilitates the process of commercial and industrial investment for the foreign and local investor alike and has met with great success, in spite of the current circumstances in the Gulf region.

AL-HAWADITH: What is the effect of the recession in America and Europe on the economic situation in Dubai?

'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Gharir: The recession in Europe does not have a direct connection, but there is local recession, which is to be expected. Following the period of prosperity and construction, the process of development and growth must be alleviated. Many businessmen have been affected by this recession and some people have paid a high price, but we have discovered many errors and have learned many other things as a result of that.

Re-exporting is more important in the commercial process in Dubai, to the point where some people import American products and re-export them to America, and get a profit because of the special encouragement prices which they receive on importing.

Processing is local, and most of these products are exported to the Gulf Cooperation Council countries.

I would like here to point to the success of the experiment, the creation of the Gulf Cooperation Council states and what they have realized in the economic context, which will have a positive effect on the whole area. My view is that the League of Arab States should carry out the same idea in creating, first of all, economic blocs whose economic systems are mutually compatible. For example, Saudi Arabia's economic system corresponds to the system of the UAE, contrary to the system of South Yemen. Ultimately it will be easy to combine these economic blocs with one another.

AL-HAWADITH: What is the effect of the development in various areas on the banking sector in Dubai?

'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Gharir: The development of the country has imposed parallel development in the system of banking services. The banks in general have developed their services to keep abreast of the requirements of economic activity and have increased their number of branches, their number of employees and the quality and quantity of their services, which has led to improvement in the competence of transactions. There now is much competition among banks to win clients.

The number of domestic banks has increased and they have come to play an important role in the development of the domestic economy. The most important of these banks is the Dubai National Bank, which is the first bank to have been established in the country. Following it are the Bank of Oman, the Bank of the Middle East, the Bank of the Middle East Federation and many others. The banks were positively affected by the period of economic upsurge, but in the period of recession in the past 5 years wariness has become the basic element in the adoption of decisions and steps.

The banks now are oriented toward individuals to respond to their special requirements, from the issuance of Visa cards to the purchase of cars by instalments, or the acquisition of personal loans for emergency reasons, and so forth. In the past the treatment of these needs was not welcomed in the domestic banks, and it is now considered a new development in bank transactions in the region. The banks began by using technological development to improve their services, and we now in the Bank of Oman are intending to issue Visa cards which can withdraw cash sums in about 25,000 mechanized banks in the world. The idea was established recently and few banks are now applying it. In the Gulf, we will be the first to apply it.

AL-HAWADITH: What about social development?

'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Gharir: Social development parallels economic development. There is not the least doubt that the citizens have managed to keep abreast of economic development in the social sense. The new generation has absorbed this development in better, faster ways.

There are radical changes which have occurred in our society, especially in the Emirate of Dubai. Here the percentage of foreigners has increased greatly, 75 percent foreigners to 25 percent locals. This is an important factor for the goal of social development. Dubai has become a cosmopolitan city. Many customs have vanished and other customs have taken their place owing to the presence of this tremendous number of foreigners, from all areas of the world.

The most important of the other things that have made development mandatory include the advent of Arab and foreign experts. Their advent means the provision of the housing and services necessary for living in the form of health, education, security and so forth. Therefore we must develop the labor and residence laws. The labor law protects workers' rights and is a good law, and the employers have committed themselves to it. It is now in the process of amendment. It is not permissible to expel an employee without reason or prior warning. The labor law protects the laborer, within the limits of the worker's commitment to his job, however. There are end-of-service compensations, and it has compelled the employer to pay the worker a month for each year of service.

AFGHANISTAN

Yunis Khalis Discusses Alliances, Problems

46040006a Kuwait AL-MUJTAMA'15 Dec 87 pp 22-23

[Text] The holy war in Afghanistan is proceeding apace. Muslims in various areas of the world are studying the course of the blessed holy conflict in this Muslim country.

AL-MUJTAMA' has seized the opportunity for a meeting with the person commanding the Afghan Mujahidin in this gracious period (Maulawi Yunis Khalis) and has carried out the following interview with him:

[Question] What is the situation with the fronts at present, especially since the Russians are intensifying their attacks in the winter season?

[Answer] The enemy imagines that he can take over the Mujahidin's centers in the winter. The fact is that since the beginning of the holy war it is the Mujahidin who have been taking over the enemy's centers and destroying his centers, because the long winter nights with time give them the opportunity that enables them to hit these centers then return to their bases.

[Question] What have the federation's efforts to close the ranks achieved?

[Answer] We are still in the beginning stages. Perhaps after the establishment of the joint committees we will, with God's help, move on to the next step.

[Question] What is the story of the Stinger rockets, which, it has been rumored, Iran obtained from the Mujahidin?

[Answer] Yes, the Iranian government made an attack on the Mujahidin close to the common borders, and took over a small number of these weapons.

The principle of Islamic brotherhood rejects this behavior, and we have hope that Iran will return them to the Mujahidin. We are holding it responsible for the grave consequences that arise from this conduct.

[Question] What are the goals of your visit to the United States? How do you evaluate your visit with the American president?

[Answer] Our meeting with the American president was ordinary, and there is nothing to mention, except that I summoned him to Islam. The goal of our visit to the United States was to try to increase the number of countries in the United Nations opposed to the Russian intervention in our country, and—praise be to God—we succeeded in this. I have informed everyone, including the American president and his people, that the Soviets

do not just covet Afghanistan but they use it as a point of departure for aggression against the people. We will not abandon arms as long as a single Russian soldier is on our territory.

[Question] The number of countries which are asking the Soviets to leave Afghanistan has risen. What is the effect of this on the Soviets? Are there Arab or Islamic countries which have taken a stand against withdrawal? [as published]

[Answer] Yes! The rise in the number affects the enemies negatively and the Mujahidin positively.

[Question] Has the Pakistani position on the Afghan cause changed?

[Answer] The position of the Muslim Pakistani government is still supportive of our cause, and they have given the Mujahidin a good reception and support.

[Question] What are the Mujahidin requesting from the Islamic governments, the Islamic groups and the Islamic peoples?

[Answer] The Mujahidin are fighting to uplift the word of God and in defense of Islam. It is the duty of the Muslims, governments, peoples and movements, as members of the body of Islam, to stand alongside us and not abandon our people as prey to the enemies.

[Question] Is there coordination between the Mujahidin and the Muslims under the Marxist government in the Islamic republic, now that daring operations inside these republics have emerged?

[Answer] Yes, there is undeclared coordination which the Russians are not aware of, and therefore the Mujahidin can carry out daring operations inside the Soviet Union from time to time.

[Question] What effect does the presence of Arab Mujahidin among the Afghan brothers have among the Afghan people?

[Answer] The impact of the Arabs who are taking part in the holy war with us is good, and this means that the Muslims are a single rank, which increases the unification of our ranks.

Here I would like to point out to the Muslims that they should consider what has gone on in Afghanistan from two standpoints: first, that intellectual invasion follows military invasion, and they must raise their children under Islam and protect them with their belief, which is intractable, against intellectual attack; second, that they should rely on God and start the holy war against the enemies of the religion. God makes those who side with him triumph, and regret or words of sympathy will not benefit those whose concern holds them back.

Sediqullah on Najibullah, Rivalries, Prospect for Solution

46240010a Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian
27-28 Dec 87 p 12

[Unsigned article on interview with Sediqullah Rahi, younger brother of Afghan President Najibullah, by Fausto Biloslavo of the ALBATROSS agency of Trieste on 22 October 1987 in the Panshir Valley, Afghanistan: "The Private War of Sediq, Rebel Brother of Najibullah"]

[Text] Sediqullah Rahi, 36, is the younger brother of Afghan President Najibullah. On 22 October this year Rahi fled from Kabul, where he was living in a state of semidetention because of his opposition to his brother's political ideas and the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, and he joined Massud's guerrillas in the Panshir Valley. There he met Italian journalist Fausto Biloslavo of the ALBATROSS agency in Trieste and granted him an interview. Four days later Biloslavo was captured by government troops and is still in prison, presumably in Kabul. The text of the interview with Rahi, recorded on a videocassette, reached Italy by luck through an American journalist who was with Biloslavo at the time of his capture but managed to elude the soldiers. Following is the text of the interview, which is being published in Italy exclusively by LA REPUBBLICA.

The Escape to Germany

[Question] Why did you decide to cross over to the resistance?

[Answer] Six years ago I took refuge in West Germany with my family. Of course that was politically embarrassing for my brother, Doctor Najib, who was at the time head of the Khad (the Afghan secret service) and working closely with the KGB.

The Khad is an animal the KGB gave birth to and it is still nursed by that damnable organization. For my brother it was intolerable that I (his brother) should have taken refuge in West Germany, and so he made up a plan to have me kidnapped, a plan which was carried out by Khad agents with the help of the KGB. They brought me to Kabul after having me cross through East Germany and the USSR, and they tortured me to make me call my family back to Afghanistan, which I did.

During the six years I was kept in Afghanistan by force I was under close surveillance by the Khad. Every move I made was closely watched. To keep me under tighter control Khad agents were stationed in the apartment over mine. I was also arrested from time to time. The last time was last year, when I remained in a cell at the Khad headquarters for four months. During that period I was subjected to brutality and psychological conditioning.

The cause of all this was simply the fact that my ideas, like those of the majority of the Afghans, are different from those of Doctor Najib. That's why (like me) most of the Afghan people are being subjected to all kinds of brutality.

Because of my attitude Doctor Najib also had a mind to send me into exile in USSR. When I learned of this intention I decided I couldn't stay in Kabul and I took refuge in the Panshir Valley with Massud.

[Question] Some say that Najib will not be in power much longer. What do you think?

[Answer] Najib and his government were set up by "them" (the Soviets, editor's note) and so only "they" can say how long they will last.

[Question] What is the situation in the Afghan Communist Party?

[Answer] Rivalries and factional maneuvers have multiplied within the Communist Party lately. The PDPA (People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan) is up against a very difficult challenge and every attempt made by its leaders to heal these divisions has been unsuccessful.

[Question] What do you think of the attitude of international public opinion as regards the Afghan question?

[Answer] The Afghan people can never forget that they were "raped" by the Soviet Union. International press and television organizations must present a picture of the struggle of the Afghan people in their "dialectical development." Western public opinion must realize that this war can never end until Afghanistan gets back its borders and its independence.

[Question] What do you think of the reconciliation proposed by the Kabul government?

[Answer] This so-called national reconciliation plan was promoted and subsequently imposed by decision of the Soviet Union. In its present form it cannot be accepted by the opposition and therefore cannot be considered a possible solution.

[Question] Do you think there can be a peaceful solution to the Afghan question?

[Answer] If anyone thinks there can be a possible solution of the Afghan crisis through the Geneva conference I want to say clearly that no solution can be found in the absence of the Afghan people. Every decision will have to be made with representatives of the people. In their absence no one can resolve the problems of this country.

[Question] With Gorbachev will there be some change for Afghanistan?

[Answer] Gorbachev wants to take his soldiers out of Afghanistan because the problem has taken on an international character. He would like to get this burden off his shoulders as soon as possible, but it will be very difficult for the Soviet Union to find a solution. There is a great resistance movement in this country, and if this movement is not involved in any eventual negotiation I think the problem cannot be resolved. Even if the pro-Soviet government in Kabul and the government of Pakistan succeed in reaching agreement in the context of the Geneva talks, the agreement would be unilateral because neither of them represents Afghanistan or enjoys the support of its people. No one can make our people accept an agreement in which they have not participated and which they are not obliged to recognize. For that very reason a Soviet withdrawal is impossible; the government would lose its entire *raison d'être* and fall immediately. The government and the party cannot hold out for long without the support of the Red Army, and for that reason the Afghan question will become increasingly more difficult for the USSR.

13028/12913

Mujahidin Leader Discusses Defection of President's Brother

46040006b Kuwait *AL-MUJTAMA'* 15 Dec 87 p 23

[Text] After international radio services had broadcast the news that the brother of the president of the Afghan regime had joined the Afghan Mujahidin, a telephone contact was made with Mr Burhanuddin Rabbani, a leader of the Afghan Mujahidin, to seek clarification of this news, and the following conversation took place with him:

[Question] When did Sadiqullah, the younger brother of the president of the Afghan regime, join the Mujahidin?

[Answer] The exact date of this association is last 29 October.

[Question] Did he join you with the members of his family, or alone?

[Answer] Indeed he joined with his family.

[Question] Do you believe that his joining the Mujahidin will pave the way for dialogue between you and the president of the regime?

[Answer] We consider him to be a person who has joined the Mujahidin bringing with him a declaration exposing his brother Najib, since with the affiliation of his brother with the Mujahidin the national reconciliation which Najib talked about has proved to the world that talk about conciliation is only a meaningless farce.

[Question] From the political standpoint, what is the affect of his joining on conditions, in your opinion?

[Answer] From the political standpoint in my view the world, in particular the Russians, must not speak such words or quote the words of their agent in Kabul after this.

They are talking about what is called the national reconciliation, the national council, the constitution or the declaration of illusory parties, and they want, under the cover of a series of false measures, to appear peaceful to the world in order to deceive people.

The national council or the national reconciliation is meaningless, and the fact is that there is no government in Afghanistan and no one can be secure there, since Najib himself, if he could escape and were given the opportunity, could seek asylum someplace someday.

Talk about the presence of a government or state in Afghanistan, or the talk that there are parties carrying out political activities, has no meaning. If the Russians want to do something for the stability of the puppet regime in Afghanistan, that is folly and it has no effect, and the world must believe that the only source which can be relied upon and on which a thousand calculations can be made, and in which one can be confident, are the Mujahidin themselves, and no others.

[Question] May God reward you well. We pray God that we can meet you again and that your hopes are realized. How beloved that is to God!

11887

INDIA

Gandhi, Singh on Cooperation With U.S.

46001128 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English
20 Nov 87 p 7

[Excerpt] New Delhi, Nov 19 (PTI & UNI). The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, asserted in the Rajya Sabha today that his government would never compromise India's security while going in for defence co-operation and the transfer of high technology with the United States and other developed countries.

"We have sufficient self-confidence to be able to take assistance from a number of countries of the East and West without jeopardising our direction and the security of the nation," Mr Gandhi assured the house amidst the thumping of desks during question hour.

He told Mr Sukomal Sen (CPM), Mrs Renuka Chaudhury (Telugu Desam) and others "we have our ideology and policy, perhaps if our ideology was borrowed, we would not have that confidence."

Defence Talks

The Indo-US talks on the transfer of high technology and on collaboration in defence-related technologies would be held in March next year when the scientific advisor to President Reagan visits India. This was disclosed by Mr Rajiv Gandhi.

Mr Gandhi told Mr A.G. Kulkarni (Cong) that Indo-US co-operative research projects for the enhancement of productivity in arid zone agriculture was necessary despite the good work done by Indian scientists. There was always room for learning more since we have development capability in this field, he said.

The minister of state for external affairs, Mr K. Natwar Singh, assured the house that India would only buy the latest technology in strict adherence to our rules and regulations. India was going in for collaboration in frontline technology in defence not only from the United States but also from other countries including Soviet Union because we want to diversify and not rely on any one area, he said.

Mr Singh said that during Prime Minister's visit to Washington on October 20 several bilateral measures were agreed to.

Bilateral Steps

These include renewal of the science and technology initiative for an additional three years beyond 1988; to explore avenues of collaboration in defence-related technologies; to enhance co-operation to stem narcotics traffic and abuse; to undertake co-operative research projects for enhancement of productivity in arid zone agriculture, water management and evaluation of ground water resources; to promote greater interaction between legislators of the two countries; to develop ways to increase the availability of educational resources; and to establish a programme for fellowships in research institutions in both countries.

The terms of co-operation varied according to the nature and requirement for each specific area and were based on the principle of mutual benefit, he said. These measures would contribute to meeting some of India's developmental needs and promote Indo-US co-operation and understanding, Mr Natwar Singh added.

08309

Paper Reports Gandhi 28 Nov Press Conference

46001149a Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English
29 Nov 87 p 9

[Text] Agartala, Nov 28 (PTI) The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, today asserted that India would not hesitate to build the nuclear bomb if compelled to do so for security reasons.

Talking to reporters here at the airport, Mr Gandhi said "Pakistan is a neighbouring and friendly country and we must stop them from manufacturing the bomb."

He said, if it continues to go ahead with its nuclear weapon programme "India will not hesitate to go nuclear," though "it will be a retrograde step for us."

He referred to the suggestion of the Tripura chief minister, Mr Nripen Chakraborty, that India should have taken up the TNV extremist issue with Bangladesh at the SAARC level, and said "probably the chief minister is not aware of such things. The issue was discussed with the President Gen. H.M. Ershad and even at the Kathmandu summit I had taken it up with the Bangladesh President."

Referring to the Chakma refugee problem, he said Bangladesh should sort out the problem and "we have clearly conveyed to Bangladesh our views about it."

Mr Gandhi said a multi-faceted approach was required to solve the extremist problem. He however, added that "the state government is reluctant and has no political will to solve the TNV extremist problem."

He said the intelligence in the state had totally failed and adequate money was not sanctioned for it. He denied that the Centre had received any communication from the TNV.

Once the extremist problem was solved here, "we would pay attention to the developmental activities in the state," he added.

While addressing the Congress workers at the airport, he said nominations would be given soon and the party would lay stress on local candidates while selecting nominees.

Mr Gandhi also discussed the TNV extremist problem, Chakma issue, border road and the present situation in Bangladesh with Mr Chakraborty.

The governor, Lt Gen (retd) K.V. Krishna Rao, was also present besides, the Union minister of state for telecommunications, Mr Santosh Mohan Deb, the AICC general secretary, Mr Oscar Fernandez, and the Mizoram Congress president, Mr Lalthanwala.

He said the front government was neglecting the all-round development of the state and priority was not given to education.

Referring to his party's electoral alliance with the TUJS, Mr Gandhi said the Congress was concerned about tribals as well as non-tribals. However, the tribals should also march forward to avoid a one-sided development, he added.

Refuting the state government's charge of economic deprivation he said Tripura had been sanctioned Rs 440 crores in the seventh plan period which was extendable to Rs 600 crore. The Centre would consider setting up a power plant, paper mill and fertiliser plant in the state, he added.

Mr Gandhi said the setting up of a Doordarshan studio in the state, as soon as possible, was also under the active consideration of the Centre.

He alleged that the front government had "let loose a reign of terror in the state," harassing, assaulting and even killing Congress workers. Instead of using the police, "the CPM cadres have taken law and order into their own hands," he added.

Regarding the loan mela, Mr Gandhi said his government wanted to help the poorer sections of society but the front government opposed it on some "funny" ground. "Actually the front government is not interested in uplifting the poor and downtrodden," he said.

Mr Gandhi also addressed meeting at Belonia in the south district and Dharmanagar in the north before leaving for New Delhi en route Silchar.

08309

Report on Gandhi 17 Nov Defense College Speech
46001127 New Delhi PATRIOT in English
18 Nov 87 p 1

[Text] Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi on Tuesday expressed the confidence of finding a solution to the more than two-decade-old Sino-Indian boundary dispute but cautioned against expecting any "quick and easy solutions," report agencies.

During a question-answer session at the National Defence College in Delhi, he said the official-level talks currently on between the two countries were "going on well." "Diplomatically, we are making progress."

Apart from the boundary question, he said "we are also talking about cooperation in several areas."

Earlier, Mr Gandhi spoke at length about India's nuclear policy during which he warned against what he called Pakistan's active nuclear weapon programme. However, its solution did not lie in the bilateral treaty between New Delhi and Islamabad as suggested in some quarters, he added.

He said "the piecemeal, zonal or regional approach to what is essentially a global matter will not work."

Mr Gandhi said that the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) is unacceptable because it will not work. Moreover, it was discriminatory and partisan, he added.

"There is no logic which compels us to ever sign NPT," the Prime Minister remarked.

Mr Gandhi said that the nature of nuclear weapon was such that its fallout and radiation cut across boundaries and penetrated through time to future generations.

He said "we have to get away from the red-herring that solution to nuclear problem rests in the bilateral treaty between India and Pakistan." No bilateral treaty would protect us from the nuclear missiles, he added.

Mr Gandhi explained how the nuclear weapons were positioned everywhere in this region to the north and in the Indian Ocean.

Therefore, a bilateral approach to the nuclear problem would only amount to a fairy tale. "Only nuclear free one to which we can belong is the global nuclear free zone," he added.

Mr Gandhi also objected to the idea of comparing the nuclear programme of India and Pakistan. "We are the only country in the world with a proven capacity to make nuclear weapon to have deliberately refrained from doing so," he added.

Mr Gandhi said that India had showed both "capacity and will" to refrain from making nuclear weapon. "Our technical capacity has not been transferred into active weapon system," the Prime Minister remarked.

Mr Gandhi explained at length how India had all along been opposed to the use of nuclear science for military purposes.

He spoke about India's efforts at promoting the peaceful coexistence as guarantee for peace thus rejecting the theory of balance of power.

He said right from the beginning India had been opposed to nuclear weapons for military purposes. Indian leaders including Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru had put forward the alternative vision—peace through peaceful coexistence. "We have rejected the balance of power theory," he said and added that no peace, based on nuclear deterrent could be durable.

When Indian leaders first spoke against the nuclear weapons in international fora including the Non-Aligned Movement, they were dubbed as "visionaries." Now, there was growing recognition of the horrifying dangers of a nuclear war. At present there was a growing world opinion in favour of disarmament and control of nuclear weapons. People were becoming more flexible. In this context, he pointed out to the significance of the Delhi Declaration signed by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and himself.

The Prime Minister explained the reasons why India had to take upon the responsibility in Sri Lanka. Paying rich tributes to the role of the Indian Peace Keeping Force, he remarked, "Hats off to our boys and jawans."

He questioned the claim that the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Ealam (LTTE) enjoyed the support of the island's Tamils. The Tamils there had, of late, been "very widely supporting the IPKF."

He dismissed as 'idle talk' of India getting bogged down in the quagmire in Sri Lanka. It was misconception to compare Jaffna with Vietnam.

08309

RSS Chief Comments on Government, Politics

Remarks at Jaipur Rally

46001129 New Delhi PATRIOT in English
17 Nov 87 p 2

[Text] Jaipur, Nov 16—In his first ever clarification his controversial statement about the Congress regime on 2 October RSS chief Bala Saheb Deoras has denied that he had supported the Rajiv Gandhi Government.

Addressing a mammoth public meeting attended by about 30,000 RSS activists from all over Rajasthan here yesterday Mr Deoras asserted that he was misreported in the press.

He categorically made it clear that in fact he had drew attention towards the absence of an alternative to Congress at present and any "possibility of the same in the near future." Neither any single political party nor various opposition parties together were in a position to offer any alternative to the Congress at the Centre, he reiterated.

The RSS chief pointed out that in the early phase of post Independence period the Congress ruled both at the Centre and the States. This gave a homogeneous rule and direction to the country. But now while Congress was ruling at the Centre various other parties were in power in States which had created an atmosphere of instability, he added. In this background he called upon the commonman to create an alternative.

This was more necessary because the Congress had been disintegrated, he said.

Recalling his 2 October speech he said that the Congress had undergone a qualitative change because in the past there were leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel, Dr Rajendra Prasad and Lal Bahadur Shastri at the Centre while States governments were headed by persons like Govind Vallabh Pant, Dr B C Roy, Y B Chavan and H K Mehtab who were outstanding in deeds and were

not imposed from above. This made the country more indefinite direction. But now the leaders and chief ministers were imposed leading to uncertainty and personality cult.

He pointed out that he had said all these things in his speech of 2 October but was misquoted.

He reiterated that only organised Hindus could save this country from balkanisation as Muslims and Christians, by and large, had yet to join the mainstream of the country. He felt that Hindus, who form majority of the population, should be united for the country, and getting rid of its various "ills" like superstition and castes. The other communities would mend their ways latter on automatically, he maintained.

Political Role Contemplated

46001129 New Delhi PATRIOT in English
19 Nov 87 p 2

[Text] Jaipur, Nov 18—RSS chief Balasaheb Deoras announced at a crowded press conference here yesterday that if necessary the Sangh (RSS) would come into "direct politics."

This is the first ever pronouncement of any senior RSS functionary on the organisation's political intentions.

Several senior officers of the organisation later conceded that this was for the first time they heard about the possibility of the RSS joining politics. So far, RSS had been claiming to be a "cultural organisation."

Asked when the RSS would join politics he said they could not give a definite date. May be at that time, somebody else would heading the organisation. "We have not taken any pledge not to join politics, Mr Deoras asserted.

He charged the Muslims and Christians for not joining the national mainstream. "Hindu mainstream is the national mainstream," he said.

He said his organisation was not "opposed to other ways of worshipping God but the national mainstream meant the Hindu culture.

Mr Deoras demanded scrapping of Article 470 of the Constitution guaranteeing special status to Kashmir.

Maintaining that Pakistan was assisting Punjab terrorists, he dismissed any possibility of creation of "Khalistan."

The RSS chief condemned Shankracharya of Puri for supporting sati. He said he was against sati. However, he maintained the social evil could not be fought through an ordinance.

Justifying the campaign of religion conversions launched by Vishva Hindu Parishad, he recalled similar efforts made by "others" and said "this could not be a one-way-traffic."

He also opposed the reservation policy for the SC/ST and demanded that the criterion should be economic and not caste. He reminded that the provision of reservation was made for a specific time period. He demanded Ramjanma Bhumi be handed over to the Hindus as Babar was an aggressor.

Regarding Mr V P Singh and his Jan Morcha, Mr Deoras said he was not in a position to give any opinion as Mr Singh had not made his intentions clear about the politics of morcha. He said Mr V P Singh had not yet approached him for RSS support.

Political Intentions Denied

46001129 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English
22 Nov 87 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, November 21: Mr Balasaheb Deoras, chief of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, has categorically denied that the sangh was planning to enter politics.

Mr Deoras said at a press conference in Jaipur recently he had merely speculated about a situation where political parties would cease to play their role and the sangh would have no option but to join politics. He said such a situation had not yet arisen.

Mr Deoras was speaking to reporters after a function of the Rotary Club Delhi last night.

The Rss chief also clarified that his remarks about the Congress were distorted by the press. "I had said that presently there is no alternative to the Congress and that there should be an alternative to it," Mr Deoras said.

He was not sure that there was any possibility of an alternative to the Congress emerging in the near future.

Earlier, addressing the Rotarians, Mr Deoras said the British government had deliberately pampered the Indian minorities so that they could get local support and prolong their rule in India.

08309

Former Kerala Minister Launches New Party

46001133 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
22 Nov 87 p 5

[Text] Trivandrum, Nov 21: M.P. Gangadharan, a former Kerala minister, who was suspended from the Congress(I) for anti-party activities, has launched a new party with himself as president.

The formation of the new party, Indo Cultural Congress was announced at a convention of the Indiraji cultural centre, an organisation headed by Mr Gangadharan at Kozhikode yesterday. Nearly 1,500 delegates, most of them from Mr Gangadharan's home district of Malappuram, attended the convention.

The youth wing of the new party will be known as the Indiraji Cultural Youth Congress.

08309

'Secret Letter' Said To Show Congress-I, TNV Collusion

46001125 Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
18 Nov 87 p 4

[Text] Agartala, Nov 17.—A secret letter allegedly written by the Tripura State Youth Congress(I) president, Mr Birjit Sinha, to the chief of the outlawed TNV, Mr Bijoy Kumar Hrangkhawl, has generated controversy in political circles here.

The letter, which recently got prominent display on the front page of "Desherkatha," the daily language organ of the ruling CPI-M here, is claimed to have been intercepted by the newspaper from a secret source. A photocopy of the letter was also published in "Ganashakti," the CPI-M mouthpiece published from Calcutta.

The letter, typed on the Youth Congress(I) letter pad bearing Mr Sinha's home address (Paiturbazar, Kaliasahar subdivision, North district referred to clandestine correspondence made earlier between Mr Sinha and Mr Hrangkhawl. Mr Sinha, according to the letter, had allegedly supplied documents earlier to the TNV chief with information about the latest deployment of the security forces in some of the States sensitive areas.

Mr Sinha, as the letter revealed, had also promised Mr Hrangkhawl some small ammunition following his return from New Delhi. Mr Sinha expressed his regret in the letter for his failure to meet Mr Hrangkhawl's emissary, who was sent by the rebel chief to Nepaltila, a hill market in the Khowai subdivision of West district recently.

Mr Sinha assured Mr Hrangkhawl in the letter that he would maintain his link with the rebel leader.

Mr Pijush Biswas, vice-president of the Youth Congress(I), in a press conference here described the letter as "a clear case of forgery" not only to malign Mr Sinha but also to resort to a motivated campaign about the "Youth Congress(I) TNV link" before the elections. The CPI-M leaders had unsuccessfully tried twice earlier to implicate Mr Sinha with the extremists, he alleged.

Mr Sinha is now in New Delhi to discuss with the party high command the finalization of the Congress(I) panel for the ensuing polls.

Mr Gautam Ghosh, the State NSUI vice-president also described the letter as a fraud and alleged that Mr Sinha's signature in the letter was forged. He offered a challenge to the State authorities to prove the allegation against Mr Sinha.

The State Congress(I) president, Mr Sudhir Mazumdar, believes that some disgruntled partymen may be behind the "conspiracy" against Mr Sinha.

The issue was raised in the Lok Sabha on November 13 by the CPI-M member, Mr Salfuddin Chaudhuri, who demanded a discussion on the matter.

08309

Burma Expels 20 'Indian Detainees', Burmese Nationals

46001130 *Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English*
21 Nov 87 pp 1, 16

[Text] Twenty people—11 men, four women and five children—all holders of Burmese nationality cards, were declared "Indian detainees" and flown to Calcutta from Rangoon on a special flight of Burma Airways on Friday morning. They were imprisoned after all their belongings were taken away by Burmese Immigration officials, they alleged. They were released from the jail early on Friday. "At about 4 a.m., we were released from prison and then handcuffed and bundled off to the Indian Embassy in Rangoon from where we have been flown here," they said.

All the 20, from the 72-year-old Uhlamyint to the four-year-and-seven month-old Aeyikh, had the same tale of misery to narrate. Uhlamyint, who spoke on behalf of the others, said the Burmese Immigration officials had caught him for the first time about 10 years ago. "They wanted to declare me an Indian. I was born in Rangoon 72 years ago. I went to court and, after four years, proved my Burmese nationality. The day I was coming out of court with the order, these people wanted some money and asked me to meet them. When I went to meet them, they took away my nationality card and money and put me behind the bars," he said. His land, house and other belongings were also taken away on the plea that "these are being nationalized," he added.

Mrs Dawd Nagasi (65) is a Burmese lady, who married a [word indistinct] National of Indian origin, Kunga [word indistinct]. After her husband died, she and [words indistinct] daughters were sent to jail four years ago. Her eldest daughter is married and has a seven-month-old baby who was also kept in jail. The baby, Aeyikh, does not know where her father is.

Another man, Sanger (36), whose father had served in the Burmese Army, was born there. His parents are dead. He was also jailed and is out of his mind because of the

inhuman sufferings he was subjected to. He does not speak. To any question, his answer is a stare. He casts a vacant look around as if he was searching for something unattainable.

Another woman, Makhain Aye (42), was put behind bars 12 years ago. She gave birth to a daughter, Aunnaiu there. The girl is now 12 years old. Her father, who died a year ago, had managed to escape arrest.

All of them are common people. They were from the Arakan district. Many others like them were made to suffer similarly. Thirteen people, including three women, died in the jail during the past three months. About 200 Burmese of Chinese origin and 19 of Indian origin are still in prison. "We do not get food there. Nor are we treated if we fall sick. Even if a mother asks for her hungry child to be fed, the jail employees, use harsh words and grimace," they said.

At the Indian Embassy, they tried to plead their case and asked the officials why they had to go to India as they had obtained Burmese nationality. The officials could not answer. For the past three days, they did not get any food in the prison. They were flown to Calcutta airport at about 8 a.m. An officer of West Bengal Government received them at the airport. While several West Bengal Government officials knew that these people were at the airport, no one cared to give them food. When they were on the verge of collapse in the evening, the General manager of the International Airport Authority of India, Mr A. Srinivasa Rao, learnt about their condition from members of the Press. He immediately arranged food for them and milk for the children. The airport doctors also attended to them. Mr Rao also arranged for their food for Saturday.

Replying to questions, these people said they would like to go back to their States of origin in India. Twelve of them would go to Manipur, four to Tamil Nadu, two to Mizoram and one each to Bihar and Orissa. "At least, we will be able to live there, however humble the living may be," they said.

08309

Law Provides for Hindi Text of Constitution

46001135a *Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English*
25 Nov 87 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 24—The Lok Sabha today passed unanimously a Constitution Amendment Bill providing for the publication of an authoritative Hindi text of the Constitution and of the amendments. The vote was 347 in favour and none against.

Being a Constitution Amendment Bill, it was passed by the prescribed special majority: a majority of the total membership of the House and a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting.

The Bill inserts a new Clause, Clause 394A, which reads:

"394A(I) The President shall cause to be published under his authority—

(A) The translation of this Constitution in the Hindi language, signed by the members of the Constituent Assembly, with such modification as may be necessary to bring it in conformity with the language, style and terminology adopted in the authoritative texts of Central acts in the Hindi language, and incorporating therein all the amendments of this Constitution made before such publication; and

(B) The translation of this Constitution and of every amendment thereof published under Clause (1) shall be construed to have the same meaning as the original thereof and if any difficulty arises in so construing any part of such translation, the President shall cause the same to be revised suitably.

(C) The translation of this Constitution and of every amendment thereof published under this Article shall deemed to be, for all purposes, the authoritative text thereof in the Hindi language.

08309

Submarines Being Built at Mazagon Docks in Bombay

46001135b *Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English*
25 Nov 87 p 11

[Text] Bombay, Nov 24—Vice-Admiral S. Jain, Flag Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Western Naval Command, reviewed the activities and development of the Indian Navy over the past year here this afternoon. He was speaking to the Press prior to the start of Navy Week, which begins on the first of next month, an event held annually in Bombay.

V. Adm Jain welcomed the addition of INS Viraat, the second aircraft carrier of the Indian Navy, which, with the addition of two SSK submarines has, he felt, greatly improved the capability of the Navy. Two more indigenous submarines of the same type are being manufactured at Mazagon Docks at Bombay with the help of technology from Germany. This project, apart from delivering two navy submarines to the Navy by 1990, will also result in India having the capability of indigenously manufacturing submarines. Answering questions from reporters on allegations made by Mr George Fernandes that the design of the German manufactured SSK submarines designed to Indian specifications had been sold by Germany to South Africa, V. Adm. Jain said it was unlikely that the Germans would welch on an agreement, but if they had, legal action could be taken.

V. Adm. Jain ruled out the question of Indian naval ships providing an escort to Indian merchant ships in the Gulf, because both the factions in the Gulf War had given an

informal undertaking to the Indian Government not to attack ships flying the Indian flag. Referring to the naval support operations in Sri Lanka, being carried out under the supervision of the Eastern Naval Command, he said it would be a good operational experience for young officers and commanders.

The Indian Navy has also changed its structure in the past year, with the Southern Command being given full charge of all training centres all over the country and being relieved of its operational responsibilities, which have been divided between the Western and Eastern Naval Commands. He also revealed that the Navy has started a project to build its own schools in the major naval centres like Bombay, Visakhapatnam, and Cochin.

Navy Week in Bombay will be celebrated somewhat austere this year, due to the drought and the floods of the past few months and a major part of the proceeds will be donated to the Prime Minister's Relief Fund. As a result, some popular events such as the spectacular aerial display by the Navy have been dropped this year, although the traditional beating retreat on the grounds opposite the Gateway of India and the Navy Ball will be held as usual. The INS Viraat, which joined the Western Fleet earlier this year, will be open to the public for a day. The Navy will also, like last year, open a free medical camp for the fishing people at Machimar Nagar. For the duration of Navy Week, the residents of Bombay will once again be treated to the annual winter sight of navy ships illuminated and lined up at anchor along Apollo Bunder.

08309

Delhi Drafts Bill To Outlaw Communal Parties

46001134 *Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English*
22 Nov 87 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 21: The Union government has nearly finalised the draft of the Bill by which it proposes to curb communal political parties. The Bill will be introduced in Parliament soon, if not in the current session, then in the next one.

Government sources would admit as far as to say that it is under "very active consideration" of the Union home ministry, and a draft of the proposed law is "likely to be prepared very soon." The sources added, however, that the Bill was not yet ready for introduction, but could be brought into force in the form of an ordinance after the session ended on December 11, after "broader consultation and agreement." The government is expected to seek the Opposition's cooperation in passing this law.

The proposed law is expected to ban communal political parties or stop them from contesting elections unless they amended their party constitutions opening their doors to people belonging to all communities. At present, the Muslim League and the Akali Dal, besides some others, enrol members on communal or religious lines.

The Bharatiya Janata Party, despite its known communal character, has, however, all communities on its rolls. One of its vice-presidents, Mr Sikandar Bakht, is a Muslim.

According to the sources, those political parties already recognised by the Election Commission but with partisan characteristics would be asked to amend their constitution or face the consequences under the new law.

The Congress Seva Dal, in one of its reports submitted to the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, a few months ago, had suggested a ban on political parties with a communal or religious base. It had also suggested the separation of religion from politics. This was followed by the Prime Minister's discussion with Opposition leaders on the subject, where it was agreed upon "mutually on principle to bring forth such legislation."

Mr Ghulam Nabi Azad, AICC(I) general secretary, has said that the proposed law was not aimed at deriving political benefit to the Congress(I) as and when Punjab goes to the polls after Central rule ends there.

He said the Congress(I) would continue its mass contact programme in Punjab to involve people in the anti-terrorist campaign. He said the first phase of the programme which ended on Thursday covered 97 out of the 117 Assembly constituencies in the state. The party would ask people to keep an eye on terrorists and their harbourers, and then refuse them shelter. Once they were socially boycotted, they would vanish, he added.

He added that a 40-day programme would be launched on December 5 covering the remaining 20 constituencies.

08309

IRAN

Exemplary Farmers and Stock-Breeders Air their Problems

46400066a Tehran ABRAR in Persian 9 Dec 87 pp 1,2

[Text] Yesterday, on the occasion of Agricultural Training and Propagation Week, ABRAR's correspondent interviewed exemplary farmers, livestock breeders and workers. The text of the interview follows below:

Seyfoddin Sepahi, an exemplary date-grower in the Saravan District of the Province of Sistan va Baluchestan, became an exemplary grower by producing 54 kinds of dates. He said:

I began working 12 years ago and I have 500 date palms, 100 of which bear fruit. With regard to my work, since the palm orchard is nine farsangs from the city, is a long ways from the road and I have no transportation, the dates rot and are lost. I have no cartons for packaging, and the dates are left and go sour.

The exemplary date grower added: Although I am now cultivating 54 varieties of dates, if these problems were solved I could cultivate 75 varieties. I have no way to obtain water, and we have a shared well for irrigation, but my partner does not cooperate and it is difficult to obtain water, even though the well and the land belong to me.

Seyfoddin Sepahi, Sistani exemplary date grower, added: In marketing the dates we have the problem of a shortage of water and motor oil. Of course we obtain some of that from the Reconstruction Crusade. When we request cement they delay it and the rainfall ruins the crop, and when pestilence afflicts the dates there is no help.

Haj Mohammad Zia'i, the father of four martyrs and an exemplary farmer from Esfahan who grows wheat and beets, began his remarks by saying: In good seasons we harvest seven to eight tons of wheat per hectare, but in other years, due to pestilence and the unavailability of chemical fertilizers and pesticides, we harvest three to four tons per hectare.

The exemplary Esfahani beet-grower added: In the same way we harvest 60 to 75 tons of beets per hectare, and if there are no problems we show a profit of 30 to 40 tons of beets.

He discussed the problems affecting the harvest. He said: Our most acute shortages are chemical fertilizers and pesticides. The second problem is the adversity of the prices at the sugar factory, where only a small part of the income obtained goes to the farmer, and this income has to pay the wages of the 70 beet workers who must be employed to harvest 75 tons of beets from one hectare of land. That figure must be doubled. We employ 40 persons to pull weeds, and we irrigate for eight months. During this period we spend 2,500 tomans per month.

The exemplary farmer from Esfahan added: With these divisions the farmer loses 20,000 tomans per hectare, and if these inhibiting factors are eliminated, in the coming years we will be able to bring agriculture to a point where the country will be freed from dependence.

He said: These problems I have mentioned are not my only problems, but in two 300,000-person areas there are 20,000 farmers who are facing these problems.

In this regard, my proposal is that the government investigate the efficiency of the sugar cube factory and set a general price per ton for beets that is both just and not destructive. If this is done farmers will be encouraged and they will make efforts to meet the nation's needs.

The farmer must be free from worry concerning the availability of tires, the intervention of middlemen and the free market, in order to be able to market good crops. With regard to middlemen and the free market, forceful intervention by the government and the officials would be useful.

Concerning wheat, he said: When a wheat farmer puts a ton of wheat in the silo, he loses money because when he sells the same crop at the free market price there is a 3,500-toman difference from the government price. Moreover, chemical fertilizer is available to the farmer on the free market at 600 toman, while it is not available at all in the cooperatives.

He added: God willing, the government will be able to find a basic solution to this problem and farmers will be able, through their own efforts, to market crops that will free us from our dependence on East and West.

Mosib Lotfi, an exemplary beet grower from Neyshabur in Khorasan, said: I have been growing beets for 20 years, and I have worked 30 to 34 hectares of land.

He added: This year I cultivated 31 hectares of land, which produced 70 tons with the help of workers and agricultural officials. With regard to the problems, it must be said that there is an extreme shortage of tractors and spare parts.

He said: We have problems delivering the beets to the factory, and the Neyshabur sugar cube factory, which needs 4,000 tons of beets per day, gets less, and this problem of delivering crops is also evident in the province's other sugar cube factories.

He added: For three years farmers have not been receiving motor oil and tractor parts, or not receiving enough of them, and farmers cannot buy tractors at the exorbitant prices of the free market.

He said: If these problems persist as they are, within five years the Khorasan Province beet crop will be reduced by half. In 1362 [21 March 1983 - 20 March 1984] I got a tractor, but I have seen nothing so far of the other two tractors I should have obtained.

Among the most important problems, he listed the lack of tractors, fertilizer spreaders and smoothers, and parts for well drilling equipment.

Yadollah Mo'tamedi, an exemplary feed grower from the province of Kohgiluyeh and Boyer Ahmad, who has been growing feed since 1364 [21 March 1985 - 20 March 1986], said: Because of the region's climate, it is divided into two regions, a cold region and a warm region, alfalfa being grown in the cold area where it grows well. In this province the experts and workers are active.

He said: Under the former regime, with Israeli cooperation, they had 12 alfalfa harvests per year, and using traditional methods we have now reached ten harvests per year. We produce seven to eight tons of dried alfalfa per hectare per year.

He said: When we want a loan the bank wants more than 200,000 toman in collateral, which we do not have. Our other problems include the increased cost of electricity, for we use electrical motors for irrigation. The rate has doubled since last year, and we must pay 30,000 toman for electricity to grow four hectares of alfalfa.

He added: Other problems are the lack of spare parts for machinery and pumping, and the shortage of chemical fertilizer, which is distributed by the Reconstruction Crusade and the Agricultural Administration, two units that are separate.

He said: We are suffering from the lack of experts in times of pestilence and from the lack of a road.

'Ali Reza'i, an exemplary poultry farmer from the Central Province who has been working in this area for nine years, gave an interview to our correspondent. He said: I started my business with personal capital, and like most other poultry farmers I lost money on a 42-day plan. When I lost my investment I borrowed money from the banks to keep my business from dying.

He said: Since the chicks are transferred from farms to the poultry farmer, there are many losses. They do not separate the second- and third-class chicks, and because of this there are losses of about 20 percent, and diseases are transferred to the healthy chicks.

With regard to increased egg production he said: The procurement of medicines and their timely transfer to the poultry farmers is the first requirement. Drinking and feed troughs which are made of aluminum and plastic are very expensive, and are not provided to poultry farmers by the cooperatives.

He said: Raw materials must be made available directly to the poultry farmers because the factories do not keep their commitments. They substitute materials of lower quality.

He discussed the balance between the delivery of chicks and the production of poultry. He said: The development chest has required every poultry farmer to produce 1.250 kilograms of meat for every chick he receives, and the Ministry of Agriculture receives a check for 250 toman from the poultry farmer for every kilogram of meat.

Reza'i, who is the nation's exemplary poultry farmer for the first time, said: Currently the regional electric company obtains funding for electricity at the industrial rate and in order to help poultry farmers they are supplied at

the agricultural rate. The shortages facing poultry farmers include ventilators for generator motors, transportation for shipping, tires and gasoline.

9310

PAKISTAN

JI Chief Assails Government As Corrupt, Incompetent

46000080a Karachi DAWN in English 23 Jan 88 p 4

[Word in italics as published]

[Text] Hyderabad, 22 January: Amir Jamaat Islami Pakistan, Kazi Hussain Ahmed, has said that the situation obtaining in the country had proved beyond doubt that the present Government was incompetent and incapable of resolving the problems of the people and it had, therefore, forfeited the right to govern. He said that it was high time the present Government was replaced without delay by a truly elected government.

He stressed the need for the general election in 1988 on party basis and called upon the religious and political parties to unite on one platform in furtherance of this objective.

Speaking at a reception hosted in his honour at Abbas Bhai Park on Friday evening, Kazi Saheb said that the biggest problem confronting the country today was the sense of deprivation among all the people of all the provinces for which the responsibility squarely lay on the shoulders of the Government.

He said no single community or province was responsible for the ever increasing sense of deprivation but it was the privileged class, the waderas, the jagridars and the bureaucracy which had for the past 40 years exploited the masses. He warned that disappointment among the people provided a golden opportunity to the enemies to exploit the situation to its own advantage.

Paying tributes to the sacrifices rendered by Mohajirs in the cause of Pakistan and Islam, he said that the majority of the Muslims of the subcontinent were fully aware of the fact that their areas would not be included in Pakistan yet they struggled for the creation of Pakistan. He reminded the people that salvation of all the people lay in united Pakistan because if there was no Pakistan there will be no Sind and Punjab and the slogans of Jeay-Sind or any other slogan will be meaningless. He regretted that while the 'Kafirs' were uniting on one platform by forming European Economic Community and other associations there was chaos in the Muslim world.

He stressed the need for Nizami-i-Mustafa without delay which was the panacea for all ills. He reiterated that General Zia should give up the post of the Army Chief of Staff.

Speaking on the occasion, the Naib Amir Jamaat-i-Islami, Maulana Jan Muhammad Abbasi said, that corruption, dacoities, robberies, riots and kidnappings were the hallmark of the present Government. He said that the country had become bankrupt both internally and externally.

The Assistant Secretary General of the Jamaat and member National Assembly, Mr Liaquat Baloch, in his speech criticised the present economic system.

He said all the provinces should be "represented in the armed forces and demanded that 27 lakh acres of land doled out to Generals should be confiscated and distributed among the Haris." He called upon Air Marshal (ret'd) Asghar Khan and Gen (ret'd) Tikka Khan to make the beginning and distribute their lands among the landless Sindhi Haris. He demanded the repatriation of Biharis and the opening of Khokhrapar route. He said "Islami Inqilab" was the only answer to all our problems.

/12913

Punjab PPP Said in Disarray

46000080b Karachi DAWN in English 22 Jan 88 p 1, 3

[Word in italics as published]

[Text] 21 January: The Punjab PPP's resolution on 20 January, recommending the central leadership, to take 'disciplinary action against four members of the party's Central Executive, Malik Meraj Khalid, Rao Abdul Rashid Khan, Mian Ehsan-ul-Haq and Mr Mohammad Afzal Sindhu, has not only been received as a shock by the party workers but resulted in dividing the provincial organisation in two groups.

A group, led by the Punjab General Secretary, Rana Shaukat Mahmood, seems to be in a mood of inviting a head-on collision with the "loyalists" faction, being headed by the provincial President Mr Jahangir Badar. The Rana group held a meeting in the evening on Thursday at which they have disowned the recommendation.

The meeting was attended by some of those leaders who were reported to have participated in the meeting held on Wednesday. Some of them called on Malik Meraj Khalid, Rao Rashid, Mian Ehsan and Mr Sindhu on Thursday expressing their regrets on the resolution and assured them that they were not a party to it.

As for the four members of the PPP's Central Executive Committee, none of them appears to revolt against the leadership of Ms Benazir Bhutto. They rather want to "plead" their cases at the next meeting of the Central Executive scheduled to be held at 70 Clifton, Karachi on 27 January.

These PPP leaders are of the view that keeping the party's unity intact is the need of the hour. Mian Ehsan-ul-Haq also sent a letter to the party's Secretary General, Gen (retd) Tikka Khan, on Thursday. Others have also shown a conciliatory gesture.

However, they have raised objection against the Punjab party which had sent the resolution to the newspapers for publication of 'gross allegations' against them. They are of the view that it was an inter-party dispute which should have been sorted out within the organisation.

The best forum to raise the issue was the next meeting of the Central Executive, they said and added that this way the Punjab party has violated the principles and regulations determined by the Co-Chairperson that inter-party disputes be settled within the party.

Meanwhile, the party circles generally believe that the said resolution cannot be passed without a directive by the central "leadership." The argument being advance to the effect that the meeting, which passed the resolution was primarily meant for a discussion on the party's performance in the recent local bodies elections and any recommendation against the four leaders was not on the agenda.

The sudden outburst against the four leaders by a Punjab Vice-President, came as a surprise, particularly after the central Information Secretary, Mr Rafiq Ahmad Sheikh, had in a press statement the other day described the meeting of Malik Meraj Khalid and Rao Rashid with Malik Ghulam Mustafa Khar was in connection with "a formal condolence."

When contacted Rao Rashid declined to comment on the resolution "for the time being." Malik Meraj Khalid told *Dawn* that "in no case I intend to leave the party nor would I join any other political party." However, he appeared to continue with his criticism on "the ideological retreat" of the PPP.

On the other hand Mian Ehsan-ul-Haq, who has "no common cause with Malik Meraj and Rao Rashid," says he has a right to defend himself in the eyes of the people of the Punjab if his plea was not accepted by the Central Executive Committee. He adheres to the contents of the telegram sent to Begum Nusrat Bhutto seeking her guidance in the face of "frustration" of workers, including those languishing in jails. He also feels that the working in the Punjab PPP is in jeopardy. He pointed out to a similar message by Makhdoom Talib-ul-Maula and said "why an action against him has not been taken."

As for Mr Afzal Sindhu he has shown submission to the party, Ms Benazir Bhutto and any decision taken by the Central Executive.

Arms Exports Increasing

46000080d Karachi *BUSINESS RECORDER* in English 24 Jan 88 p 1

[Text] Pakistan Ordnance Factories Wah, which exports arms worth 35 million dollars a year aims to increase this to 150 million dollars a year within the next two years.

This was stated by the Chairman, POF, Maj-Gen. Talat Masood in an interive with the International arms review, magazine.

The main POF manufacturing centre at Wah Cantt includes facilities for licence production of Chinese type-54 heavy machine guns, while the tank and anti-tank ammunition factory at Gadwal producer various rounds in the 100 mm-plus range, and the Sanjwal large-calibre ammunition factory caters for 122-203 mm rounds.

Propellant and explosive factories are located at Hawelian and a new 12.7 mm ammunition factory has been built at Sanjwal.

He said POF's product range includes mortar and aircraft bombs, small arms, all types of ammunition, grenades, mines, pyrotechnics, torpedoes and demolition charges.

Masood said that by 1995, POF will also be producing missiles and artillery rocket systems.

To guarantee the independence of its production, the factories manufactures many materials and components for arms and ammunition, including carbide and tungsten alloy products, chemicals and metal-clad steel.

POF is now satisfied that its industrial base is firm and is looking more systematically at the export market, not in the expensive top-end technology range but in low-priced standard weaponry.

Masood said they were studying in detail the defence requirements of "friendly nations" calculating that on average around 15 per cent of production is geared to export market.

Masood said they were achieving export success because prices are reasonable, the products meet Nato standards and Pakistan is located close to its primary markets.

"There is more than economic value in striving for autonomous production, since supplies from abroad can be interrupted or put off," Masood added.

He said POF's objective was to remain competitive with the rest of the world in defence manufacturing and to ensure Pakistan can rapidly diversify and increase its military exports.

Commentary Condemns Attack on Newspaper
 46000080c Karachi DAWN in English 22 Jan 88 p 7

[Word in italics as published]

[Text] The attack on the Peshawar office of the daily *Jang* by a group of political activists is most regrettable. The incident in which the bureau office of the paper was ransacked and set ablaze was prompted by a news item containing some erroneous details about the planned funeral arrangements for the veteran Pakhtoon leader, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who was then alive. Despite an assurance by the bureau chief that a correction would be issued in the next day's paper, an angry party and student workers proceeded to ransack the office and manhandled some staff members. The whole episode is all the more unfortunate because in this case violence was used in spite of a promise of retraction and by those who should be better aware than others of the need to shun violence as a form of protest. Even a graver provocation would not justify the highhanded methods that were used by protesters or the kind of disrespect they showed for the Press as an institution. Since a free and vibrant Press is an essential pre-requisite of democracy, attempts to undermine it through acts of violence and intimidation by political groups or factions amount to undermining the very freedom of expression that they seek for themselves for airing their views. Any error of fact or judgment in the Press, whether inadvertent or wilful, is always open to correction. Where, then, is the need or compulsion for force or intimidation?

Unfortunately, however, resort to coercion and harassment by pressure groups and factions is on the increase. Long years of authoritarian rule and suppression of civil liberties may have taken their toll in terms of an increase in intolerance and a weakening of faith in normal political and democratic norms and practices, but responsible political parties and enlightened sections of opinion simply cannot fail to see the vital link between the working of a free Press and the success of democracy. The prevailing tendency to abandon all restraint and give in to impulses of intolerance on the slightest pretext is not a matter for concern for the Press alone but for all those institutions and systems which have a vital stake in a congenial atmosphere of freedom and respect for basic political and democratic rights. It is for the responsible leaders of opinion to keep the young enthusiasts among their followers under restraint and discipline and dissuade them from acting in a manner that can lead to unpleasant incidents of the kind enacted in Peshawar on Wednesday last.

/12913

Joint Chamber of Commerce Proposed With Turkey, Iran
 46000083e Karachi DAWN (Supplement) in English 18 Jan 88 p 1

[Text] Karachi, January 17—Mr Ali Coskun, leader of the 35-member delegation of Turkish industrialists and

businessmen has suggested formation of a joint chamber of commerce and industry of Pakistan, Iran and Turkey, to further boost economic cooperation.

Addressing the first joint meeting of Pakistan-Turkey, Turkey-Pakistan joint business councils held by Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FPCCI) at a local hotel this afternoon, he noted that efforts had been initiated to continue to strengthen economic relations under the Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO) between the three countries.

He said the commercial and industrial relations between Pakistan and Turkey are progressing on bilateral basis among businessmen as well as under the Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD), now Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO).

Mr Coskun, who is the President of Union of Chambers of Commerce, Industry, maritime Commerce and Commodity Exchange of Turkey, hoped that businessmen of Pakistan and Turkey would continue their efforts in solidifying economic relations based on mutual love and affection.

Referring to the joint businessmen council of the two countries, he noted that it was the result of the deliberations and efforts of the businessmen. The business councils were set up by Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FPCCI) and the Union of Turkish Chambers in September 1986.

Mr Coskun suggested removal of difficulties in regard to transport, communication and banking to further facilitate the commercial and industrial collaboration between Pakistan and Turkey by their respective governments.

APP adds: Pakistan and Turkey today entered into deliberations with the conviction and firm belief of making "headway in the economic and trade ties" of the two brotherly and Islamic countries.

Mr Ali Coskun, Turkish delegation leader, speaking at the first joint meeting of Pak-Turkey Business Council at a local hotel this afternoon, said Pakistan and Turkey were enjoying "most cordial, friendly and brotherly relations."

"Pakistan and Turkey have unique example of friendship dating back to long history," he added. However, he said the economic and trade relations have not been that strong and added "we should find out the causes and ponder over the issues with all seriousness."

Mr Coskun called for the removal of bottlenecks and hurdles in the way of economic ties. "We should resolve the economic issues," he added.

Mr Coskun said ways and means should be adopted to remove the obstacles in the Pak-Turkish economic ties.

The Turkish leader recalled the "friendly and most memorable visit of Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo to Turkey and said that the Pak-Turkish and Turkish-Pak business council came into existence only in its wake.

Mr Coskum said the two-way channel, available to both the friendly countries, should be opened with a zeal and determination.

He hoped that the deliberations would see the light of the day and result in "fruitful conclusions."—PPI/APP.

07310

Political Imprisonment Termed 'Rank Injustice'
 46000084a Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
 14 Jan 88 p 4

[Text] Once again, in the current parliamentary session, the issue of judicial review of the cases of hundreds of political prisoners sentenced by martial law courts has been raised in the Senate and the National Assembly. There is overwhelming prima facie evidence to suggest that the prisoners are the victims of a gross miscarriage of justice. These people, for the most part, politically motivated young men in their teens or early twenties, were handed down tough sentences by courts presided over by gentlemen whose knowledge of the law was highly questionable, following procedures that were arbitrary. Certainly, justice in these cases does not seem to have been done.

The Prime Minister himself, on more than one occasion, gave the assurance that the matter of political prisoners sentenced by military courts would be looked into. The one concrete step that he took in this regard was the appointment of a parliamentary committee to make recommendations about a review procedure for so-called "hardship cases." The Committee formed in January 1986 took a year and a half to complete its report which has been gathering dust on the Prime Minister's table for the last six months. So much for the sense of urgency which attends the Government's handling of the issue. But what is even more disturbing is the use of the term "hardship cases." As the Minister of Justice explained in the Senate the other day the committee had been set up to deal with the humanitarian aspects of these cases. This would suggest that the reason for a possible review can only be the unfortunate circumstances of some individuals calling for compassion and not—this is significant—the setting right of a wrong perpetuated on the hapless victims through the provision of a straightforward legal remedy for all concerned. It indicates an unwillingness to let law and justice take their course by entrusting the matter to the superior courts, i.e., allow the accused the fundamental privilege of trial in an open court, granted incidentally, as far back as 1861 by the British colonisers. As for the observation made by the Minister that relief under a judicial process was already available to those punished by military courts vide decisions handed down

by the Lahore and Sind High Courts, it appears to be an entirely uncalled for attempt to mislead those who have already undergone considerable suffering.

As the Minister must know fully well, the said judgments do not have the effect of affording the great majority of the over 300 people involved, the opportunity to seek redress under ordinary law in the higher courts of the land. Only appropriate measures, including legislation in Parliament by the majority party, can make that possible. However, this is something that Mr Junejo and his government have clearly and consistently fought shy of. Mr Aheer, the Interior Minister never tires of reminding us, that the sentences passed down by martial law courts cannot be questioned mainly because the eighth constitutional amendment pushed through by the National Assembly, among other things, validated the decisions handed down by these courts. All the more reason why his party should find a way out of the mess. But here it becomes a matter not of ways or means, but of will. Is the Government really serious about doing anything for these prisoners, some of whom are still kept in fetters and chains. Or is it simply unwilling to concede its indifference to their plight for the reason that it might be politically inexpedient to do so. If, in the end, the relief that it does provide is token in nature and is based on a procedure that is selective, restricted and arbitrary, it shall indeed have provided us with the answer. The Justice Minister has given a categorical undertaking that the Senate will be informed of the decision taken by the Prime Minister on the special committee report during the current session. We can only hope that this decision will make the long wait, by all concerned, a worthwhile one.

07310

Students Protests 'Elimination' of Sindhi Language

46000083a Karachi *DAWN in English* 28 Jan 88 p 7

[Text] Hyderabad, January 27—The "Sujag Bar Tehreek" (movement for awakening children) staged a demonstration and took out a procession here on Wednesday to protest against the "elimination" of Sindhi language from the educational institutions of Sind and to press for the restoration of Sindhi medium of education in Municipal High School, Giddu.

Sindhi students in Giddu, Qutub Ali Shah Kachi Abadi, Pathan Goth and Pariyar Goth boycotted classes and then marched in the city and raised slogans in favour of Sindhi language.

The students converged on offices of dailies IBRAT and SIND NEWS and raised slogans.

Addressing the rally, the central president of the Tehreek, Mallah Panwar, alleged that the Sindhi language was being "systematically eliminated" from the educational institutions of Sind under "a conspiracy." He

warned that the Tehreek would not tolerate any conspiracy against Sindhis and would launch a struggle throughout the province for restoration of Sindhi language as medium of instruction in schools.

Meanwhile, Hyderabad Mayor Aftab Amed Shaikh has expressed concerned over the Tehreek's procession.

In a statement issued here on Wednesday, the Mayor called upon the administration to take effective measures in this regard and register "case against the Tehreek for disturbing civic peace. In a communication addressed to the Hyderabad Deputy Commissioner, the Mayor said that a group of the Tehreek had entered the Giddu school premises and raised inflammatory slogans and threatened the head master with dire consequences.

He said that a police guard should be posted at the school to protect the teachers and the school building.

07310

Commentary Asserts Authoritarian Rule Deeply Rooted

46000084d Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
23 Jan 88 p 4

[Article by Maleeha Lodhi]

[Text] How much nobler the sentiments expressed by the President, Prime Minister and other officials on Ghaffar Khan's death would have sounded if some of them had been voiced while the grand old man of Frontier politics was still alive. Only in death did the Frontier Gandhi achieve official recognition and acknowledgement. Even our tightly controlled TV and radio chimed in, which otherwise pretends that no opposition exists in the country and that the only people inhabiting Pakistan are flag-waving Muslim Leaguers and other officially-certified persons. Indeed mention of Ghaffar Khan's death in the electronic media was probably the first time during the current period of Pakistan's version of 'Glasnost' that reference was made to an opposition figure.

Opposition Figure

If even a part of the respect shown by the Government and its functionaries for an opposition figure in his death could have found expression in its attitude during his lifetime, what a valuable contribution this would have made to building up a tradition of tolerance of opposition. Ghaffar Khan's views were not shared by many people in Pakistan, but that was no justification for the authorities to effectively declare him as persona non grata.

And yet successive governments have dealt with people whose views do not accord with their own as non-persons. Worse, they have often been depicted as anti-national and anti-state and subjected to long periods of incarceration. Throughout Pakistan's troubled history,

those in power have shown an utter disdain for the opposition, seeking to deal with them by coercion rather than persuasion. Even those who operated some form of democracy seemed to do so only for themselves. Those who liked democracy did not necessarily like opposition. In fact even in those periods, which perhaps include the current one, when some democracy was permitted, it has been of an eclectic type, with one set of rules for the incumbents and another for those out of power.

Hallmark

The authoritarian tradition has been a hallmark of Pakistan since the early days of its creation. This is evident from some of the key events that have shaped its history: the ouster of Khwaja Nazimuddin in 1953, the dismissal of the Jugto Front government in the then East Pakistan in 1954 through the martial law period that began in 1958, the refusal to hand over power to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman that led to the dismemberment of Pakistan, Bhutto's dismissal of the NAP-JUI governments in the Frontier and Baluchistan and then the imposition of martial law in 1977. The concept of public tranquility in the country has been understood by those in power to include suppression of political adversaries who were frequently designated as "trouble makers" or "disruptionist forces." Successive governments commonly equated opposition with treason.

The authoritarian tradition is rooted deep in colonial history as well as in aspects of Pakistan's political culture. The imperial legacy was strong in the instruments and lessons of control and administration and weak in the practices and institutions of representative government. As for culture, the predominantly feudal nature of Pakistani society (with feudal attitudes carrying over into the ostensibly 'modern' urban sector) gave rise to a 'state of mind' in which the notion of opposition as a legitimate activity has not been readily accepted. Such as cultural environment seemed to have been inimical to the 'give and take' and 'compromise' that are the essence of a democratic outlook.

But attitudes of intolerance were also reinforced by governments which had no popular backg and which simply did not have the confidence to permit dissent. Therefore such regimes only strengthened the authoritarian tendency. What also lay behind the attempts of successive regimes to curb and restrain opposition activity was their repeated failure to resolve two major issues that plagued Pakistan since its establishment. These are the provincial autonomy issue which reflected Pakistan's ethnic diversity and centered around how to establish amicable and mutually satisfactory working relationships between the centre and the provinces; and the issue of Islam, i.e., the role of Islam in the state and society. The resolution of these two issues was closely related to the larger problem of creating a national identity that could transcend provincialism (by finding that unity in

diversity), and become rooted in positive rather than negative concepts (such as the fear of Hindu domination that acted as the motive force of the demand for Pakistan).

Contention

It was these two issues that were the principal source of long-standing contention between successive governments and oppositions, although others such as what kind of socio-economic system Pakistan should have been added to the national agenda in the 60s. This of course is not to suggest that personal rivalries and struggles within the elite did not play a part in engineering conflicts between governments and oppositions. Indeed the cleavages that produced many opposition groupings were often personal ones. But the more enduring, durable opposition groups were those generated by these issues.

Phoney Consensus

The tragedy of Pakistan's history however has been the inability of those in power to accommodate divergent views and to evolve a minimal working consensus by a process of democratic 'give and take.' Instead, they tried to synthetically manufacture one and then to impose a phoney 'consensus,' with deleterious consequences for national cohesion. Rather than build on societal diversity, officialdom has repeatedly sought to contain it. Intolerance of opposition has been the characteristic of virtually every regime.

The only mechanism through which a national consensus could have emerged—an open political process—was not permitted to function for any length of time. When a version of it briefly did in the 70s, a fleeting consensus did emerge, embodied in the 1973 Constitution. This, however, was torn to shreds by the self-proclaimed 'guardians' of the country and with it went the consensus that had been so difficult to achieve in the first place.

More authoritarian rule only undermined the country's unity by leaving it more divided than before. With Pakistan now in the midst of a new phase of liberalisation, this important lesson of history should not be forgotten by the Junejo government. Perhaps the greatest contribution that it can make to the country's future is to break away from an unfortunate tradition by accepting the notion of opposition as legitimate.

07310

Commentary Alleges Corruption Increasing

46000079a Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English
29 Dec 87 Supplement

[Text] During the 1958 Martial Law a diversity of rather stringent measures were adopted to clean the administration. Some such drastic drives entailed, inter alia, large-scale dismissals, compulsory retirements and reduction in grades.

Summary of one such screening is reported below in a retabulated form:

Results of the Martial Law Screening of the Corrupt Public Servants Held in 1959-60

Penalty Imposed	Central Government	Provincial Government	Total
(1) Dismissed	128	468	596
(2) Removal	0	302	302
(3) Compulsory Retirement	686	877	1,563
(4) Reduction in Rank	202	0	202
(5) Special Report	475	0	475
(6) Reduction in Increment	7	240	247
(7) Warning	162	0	162
(8) Displeasure	2	0	2
Totals:	1,662	1,887	3,549

Such an administrative surgery is reported to have a salutary effect in toning up the bureaucracy. Unfortunately, however, its impact was neither pronounced nor long-lived. Even a cursory perusal of the newspapers and the pertinent debates of the National Assembly for the subsequent period reveals that the public outcry against the rising trends in national corruption have continued to be echoing all over.

Practically all successive governments have been showing great concern against corruption and claiming to accord high priority to its treatment and prevention. But whether or not their actions and intentions made any desirable impact on administration is a debatable issue.

When in power the Pakistan People's Party, for instance, over-advertised its determination to uproot corruption. In the words of the PPP Manifesto: "The thread of corruption runs right through the social strata, requiring more dynamic and comprehensive remedial measures than adopted during the past." Hopes and expectations, therefore, had been gaining sufficient momentum that although beset with multifold hurdles and hazards materialization of the desired targets could be achieved fairly successfully if the officially-proposed measures were implemented. But how that regime failed to contain corruption is a sad chapter in our [word indistinct] economic history. Corruption rating assumed all the more wondrous dimensions.

Talking of the Roman Empire Voltaire once remarked that it was neither holy nor Roman nor even an empire. An overwhelming majority of people in Pakistan subscribe to a somewhat similar view about contemporary administration. It is alleged that the civil servant of Pakistan is neither civil nor servant nor even a representative Pakistani by any stretch of imagination. Even the mighty bureaucrats themselves have never claimed that all their swans were geese. In the varying states of the country and in the decline and degradation of our

economy the share of the civil servants has been too prominent and too palpable to warrant any elaboration. The alien hangover of all-colonial, bossy, arrogant and elitist attitude of the high-brow civil servant of the pre-Independence period has lingered on unaltered despite gigantic social, cultural, economic and political upheavals taking shape in the wake of emancipation from the Anglo-Brahmanic imperialism.

The people of Pakistan have been subjected to corrupt military dictatorships, mercenary politicians and kleptocratic administrative baronages for unusually-long spells of time. The administrative heritage of the present regime does, in no way, provide much scope for any gleeful optimism. The ruthless onslaught of that lethal legacy appears to be a continuous process. Indeed the contemporary situation is so grave that consensus prevails that it is now exceedingly hard to find any wing of any Government Department that could be claimed as corruption-free. The people of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan are completely disillusioned although even in this period a decay and deterioration quite a number of honest and upright public servants could still be identified in virtually all sectors of the public administration. Their number, however, is disappointingly low and they are fast turning into an extinct species.

Conscience & Kleptocracy

The alarming magnitude of contemporary corruption calls for a vigorous, meaningful and innovative frontal attack. The chain of more unfortunate happenings in the near past should provide further incentives for a more searching stock-taking. The East Pakistan military debacle, the problem of the prisoners of war, the mounting student unrest, the industrial upsurge, the growing wave of drug abuse, inflation and the rising cost of living, the impact of Afghan war, the swords of recurring uncertainties and insults hanging over the all-too illusive American aid and a miscellany of other gigantic upheavals on several other vital socio-economic fronts should be sufficient indicators of the fact that something is seriously wrong with the decision-making leadership.

It is widely acclaimed that with the emergence of a democratically-elected government on the political horizon stupendous endeavour has been initiated to alleviate the tortures and turmoils of the suffering common man. Be that as it may, the fundamental question that pricks the conscience of all normal homo sapiens is: can we possibly fulfil our commitment to a forlorn people with an unabated continuation of the all-pervading atmosphere of corruption? The next question to ask would be: what is really wrong with the contemporary bureaucracy? Such a soul-searching chain of questions is then bound to lead us to a much more fundamental and far more intriguing issue as: what after all is the purpose of our life in contradistinction to the life and purpose of other nations and people living elsewhere on this planet?

If that trend chances to occur in our collective thinking that would indeed signify the fact that we are drifting towards discovering a really-reliable panacea.

Some one has defined Kleptocracy as "a society of the corrupt for the corrupt, by the corrupt." It is time that a really-reflective analysis was made of the agonising situation which has trapped practically all of us. Has our bureaucracy degenerated into a full-fledged Kleptocracy? The real essence of Kleptocracy lies in the fact that the functioning of the organs of authority is determined almost entirely by the mechanisms of supply and demand rather than by a set of objective laws and universally-applicable regulations. Indeed a Kleptocratic state is said to constitute a curiously-generalised model of *laissez-faire* economic model even though its economy may look nominally socialist.

No despondency

The implications of the present strain should, in no way, end up in the despondency that the entire bureaucracy has turned into an incorrigible Kleptocracy and that our administration is doomed to disaster beyond any hope of redemption. On the contrary this frank criticism and a somewhat realistic, albeit bitter, appraisal is only intended to heighten the necessity and utility of added insight and needed dynamism to meet an exceedingly painful challenge more effectively.

Needless to emphasize that the demands of the contemporary era necessitate a more perspective response to the dictates of the conscience in the agonizing context of a lethal socio-economic reality. If this line of thinking is accepted as vital and pragmatic then one thing emerges crystal clear: what after all is the rationale and justification of a rigid and expensive adherence to the outdated strains of traditional outlooks and fossilized attitudes in the exchequered world of public administration? Nature's verdict appears to be writ large on the wall: "In case we still continue clinging to the same level of irrational indifference, pathological tolerance and quasi-quack 'treatment' of corruption as we have been practising since our wretched past, then no power on earth could stop us from continuing to rot ad infinitum in the caves of Kleptocracy."

/12913

Editorial Alleges Public Apathetic Toward MRD
46000074c Karachi DAWN in English 12 Jan 88 p 7

[Editorial: "MRD: The Show Goes On"]

[Text] The heads of the MRD have met in Rawalpindi without bearing witness to their own demise. This, perhaps, is the chief merit of this latest get-together of theirs, since against the background of the bickering and pettifogging that preceded it, anything might have happened, including a collapse of the alliance. In the event, however, a bold face has been put upon the differences

that plague the inter-relationship of the various parties, enabling the MRD to live and fight another day. Ms Bhutto's decision to overcome her qualms and attend the meeting in person has contributed to the impression that this meeting was not a total wash-out but having said this, it must be added that the MRD's success in achieving something of substance was, as always, rather limited. On the question of a permanent structure the Central Executive agreed to disagree. Living up to its image of dealing portentously with academic issues, the meeting dealt with "taxation proposals" (for a future predicated on the downfall of the existing order) but could not agree on those either. An attempt to cover this picture of confusion was made, however, by deciding to launch a mass-contact drive beginning with a public meeting next month at Mochi Gate, a venue which by now is surely the most sorely tried public arena in Pakistan. The number of clichés and slogans buried in its spacious grounds is infinite. And with this record of success the meeting dispersed.

There is not much need to hammer the point home that the public attitude towards the MRD is one of disenchantment. Not because of any disagreement with its principles but because of the perceptible gulf between its words and its deeds. While pledged to restore unfettered democracy in the country—an objective that lies at the source of what little credibility the alliance still possesses—the MRD has not been able to mobilise the people or, indeed, to advance a convincing critique of

the present exercise in civilian government. Instead of being able to work for political change at the grassroots' level, it has turned resolution-crafting into a major art form. To no one's surprise, this performance has contributed in no small measure to the spread of apathy among the people and cultivation of apolitical attitudes on a wide scale. The health of our political institutions has suffered as a result.

Since leopards cannot change their spots so easily, it is an exercise in undue optimism to hope for revolutionary changes in the MRD's thinking and activity. But this much can safely be said that a reinforcement of present trends can only serve to deflect the winds of change (presuming, of course, that there are any) and, worse, accelerate the process, already far advanced, of making the traditional political parties irrelevant to the development of national political life. Since a pluralist democracy without healthy political parties is a contradiction in terms, the impoverishment of the political parties is bound to inhibit the growth of democracy. This is as powerful an argument as any to shake the MRD out of the academic stupor into which it seems permanently sunk. If not, then it might linger on in a state of paralysis for a while without attaining the health and vigour which alone can make its adversaries in government sit up and take note of its existence.

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